

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH WITH THE COOPERATION
OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

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Concerning Special Departments, to those named at the head of each department.

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Twenty-five reprints are furnished free to the authors of major articles, book reviews, and notes. Additional reprints, if ordered in advance, are supplied at cost. Orders for additional reprints should accompany the corrected proof.

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General
Hahr

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXIX

OCTOBER, 1933

NUMBER 1

Editorial

ANOTHER CHANGE OF EDITORSHIP

The CLASSICAL JOURNAL has been most fortunate in the editorial control of its first twenty-eight volumes. For the first three years of its history, Arthur Fairbanks and Gordon J. Laing were the "managing editors," assisted (more or less) by a staff of five "associate editors." They were succeeded by Frank Justus Miller and Arthur Tappan Walker, with a staff increased to eight in number. Professors Miller and Walker, with self-sacrificing devotion to the cause for which the Classical Association of the Middle West and South has always stood, continued for twenty years to maintain the high standards of excellence that have made the JOURNAL the help and inspiration that it has been and is to the thousands of classical teachers and students to whom it goes nine times each school year. Under their direction, with a staff varying from eight to thirteen, the JOURNAL grew from a modest yearly volume of 252 pages to its present imposing bulk of 734 pages.

In 1928 Frank Justus Miller resigned, and was succeeded by Roy C. Flickinger. He and Professor Walker served as editors-in-chief until the meeting of the Association at Cincinnati in 1932. With the conclusion of Volume xxvii the dual editorship passed to the single responsibility of Professor J. O. Lofberg, whose untimely death in the early autumn of 1932 suddenly dashed the high hopes we all entertained for the coming years of the JOUR-

NAL'S service to classical scholarship under his guiding hand. Professor Flickinger, though already burdened with the extra duties of the presidency of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South and the secretaryship of the American Philological Association, most generously stepped into the breach and carried on the work as editor-in-chief and business manager to the end of the year.

Once again the readers of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL will find a change of editorship and business managership. The new incumbent may "point with pride" to the fact that his is the only name that has appeared continuously upon the title page of each and every volume of the twenty-eight. As far as possible the standards and policies of the past will be continued, but the maintenance of the high qualities that have made the CLASSICAL JOURNAL indispensable in the classical world will depend upon those who are most interested in seeing them maintained — the readers and the contributors to its pages. We, therefore, earnestly solicit from all who will coöperate articles of merit and briefer contributions to the departments of Notes, Hints, and Current Events, that will interest and help teachers and students of Latin and Greek.

May we remind those who are so good as to submit contributions, that it is the business of the editorial staff to maintain consistency of outward form and style on the printed pages of the JOURNAL. If they chance occasionally to "step upon a pet corn," let no offense be taken; they are prone to err; but they are also ever open to appeal and amenable to right reason.

Let us all, then, labor together with a will for the continued usefulness of our JOURNAL and of the Association whose organ it is.

W. M.

ROMAN TRIER ¹

By WILLIAM E. GWATKIN, JR.
University of Missouri

Just inside the territory of the German republic, six miles over the border of Luxemburg, and sixty-nine miles southwest of Coblenz by rail, lies the city of Trier, which contains the finest Roman ruins north of the Alps. Its French name is Trèves and recalls the name of the Celto-Germanic tribe occupying its site when Roman arms first entered this part of Belgic Gaul — the Treveri, whose cavalry deserted Caesar in the battle against the Nervii, and whose uncertain and rebellious spirit demanded all the attention and skill of the great Labienus to combat. At this time, however, there was no settlement on the site of the future city, and the Treveri lived in villages. Not till the time of Augustus was there founded a city, which became known as Augusta Treverorum. Under the first emperor the territory thereabouts was made part of Gallia Belgica, and through it ran the Roman road from Lyons to Metz and then on to Cologne. This road

¹ Read at the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Cincinnati, March 25, 1932.

Two convenient books for those interested in Trier are: Daniel Krencker, *Das Römische Trier*: Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag (1923); and Kantenich, *Trier, Seine Geschichte und Kunstschatze*: Trier, Jacob Lintz (no date). Both contain illustrations, as does Paul Steiner, *Römische Landhäuser im Trierer Bezirk*: Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag (1923). Excellent illustrations are contained also in Friedrich Koepp, *Die Römer in Deutschland*²: Leipzig, Velhagen und Klasing (1926). For the history of the city, cf. the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* XIII, 1, 2, pp. 582-86, and Edward A. Freeman, "Augusta Treverorum," in *Historical Essays, Third Series*²: New York, Macmillan and Co. (1892). Interesting sketches of the city by recent travelers are: Hilaire Belloc, *Towns of Destiny*: New York, McBride and Co. (1931), 182-86, and Robert M. McBride, *Towns and People of Modern Germany*: New York, McBride and Co. (1930), 32-36, from which a quotation in this article is taken. Cf. also M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1926), Plates XX, XXX, and LVIII.

crossed the Moselle at Trier, and here (perhaps between 16 and 13 B.C., when Augustus was in Gaul) was constructed a city with a definite plan of streets intersecting at right angles.

Of the straight old streets the present visitor sees nothing, for the Roman city was approximately twelve feet below the present street levels. But he may think of the Roman road when he beholds the so-called Roman bridge. Just a few yards downstream from this about ten years ago in a summer of low water there came to light the remains of a few wooden piles, either parts of an old wooden bridge or a scaffolding used in connection with repairs, and these perhaps marked the exact site of the earliest crossing. Of the present bridge the piers are Roman, though late, and are made of black stone which contrasts in a harmonious manner with the superstructure of local sandstone, red like the cliffs of the same stone which one sees across the stream of the Moselle. The present arched superstructure is not ancient, for the upper portion of the Roman bridge was of wood, as were subsequent superstructures down as late as the twelfth century.

Beside the bridge the visitor may be reminded of a certain incident of the year 70, when the Roman commander Cerialis was cut off from his troops encamped on the other side of the Moselle and the enemy almost captured the bridge. And this incident will remind us also of the course of history in the district. For to the reader of the literature of the early Empire the territory of the Treveri appears as the center of a particularist sentiment, where the feeling for independence was strong and the natives none too friendly toward foreign domination. This came to a head under Tiberius in the rebellion attempted by Julius Florus in aid of Julius Sacrovir. But more serious were the great revolt under Civilis and an attempt to found an empire of the Gauls, of which Trier would probably have been the capital. But thanks to Petilius Cerialis and his troops the revolt failed, though not without some serious fighting.

But after the year 70 the spirit of rebellion died down, and there ensued a period of prosperity and activity in which the district of the Moselle became a center of wealth and one of the most

flourishing portions of the Empire. Around the Roman city arose luxurious villas with all the appointments of country estates. And for the memorials of this period the visitor to Trier will go to the Provincial Museum, into which have been gathered and arranged in excellent order the mosaics and monuments collected from the vicinity. The most interesting are the sculptures known as the Neumagen monuments, grave monuments from the vicinity of Trier built at a later time into a Roman fort at Neumagen, a few miles away. Many of these represent scenes of daily life from the neighborhood. One shows a family at meal; another represents a lady at her toilet, seated in a chair, looking into a mirror which a servant holds before her, while another servant dresses her hair. Still another shows a schoolroom, with a schoolmaster in the center seated between two pupils, each of whom unrolls a scroll. Another shows a banker or landowner receiving money from peasants. Interesting in all these are the small details which show the divergences from the practices at Rome: The family sits at meal, the boys in the schoolroom have Gallic shoes, the banker is clean shaven in the Roman manner, but the peasants are bearded, as natives.

Perhaps the best known of these monuments is the representation of a ship on the Moselle, transporting four casks of wine, rowed by six men with two steersmen, one at stern and one at prow, the latter clapping his hands to give the oarsmen the beat. Here we have evidence for the early development of vine culture in the Moselle Valley. The cloth trade, too, was a prominent one of the district, and as a reminder of that the visitor may view in the courtyard of the museum a copy of a monument which exists in the original in the village of Igel a few miles out from Trier. It is a grave monument, seventy-five feet high, of the Secundii, a wealthy family engaged in the cloth trade, constructed of the local stone and containing portraits of members of the family, mythological representations, and, more interesting for us, perhaps, scenes from the daily life on the villa which was the establishment of these wealthy capitalists.

I have spoken of the mosaics which one may see in the museum;

and one of these, which represents scenes from a Roman arena, will lead the visitor to seek the amphitheater on the outskirts of the city, not too long a walk distant from the museum itself. Here we find something different from what we usually think of when we imagine a Roman amphitheater; for the builders at Trier utilized the side of a hill, and rather a steep hill at that, using the slope for seats on one side, and grading up the dirt taken from the arena area to make an embankment for seats on the side towards the city. Persons from any institution having a stadium built in a natural depression will understand the process exactly. So the result was an amphitheater seating about 8,000, and in measurements about the same size as that at Verona. It was built in the time of Trajan or Hadrian. Today almost all of its ornamental masonry has gone, there being only a few tunnels left. Yet the whole is well planted in grass and neatly kept. And what was of more interest to me, the underground area has been excavated and reroofed, so that one may go beneath the arena floor and, amid the darkness and the rain water which has drained in, realize the true condition in which the victims of the contests were kept.

Another result of the prosperity in the second and third centuries was the erection of baths on an extensive scale in a section near the bridge, at a considerable distance from the amphitheater. The district was known in the Middle Ages as "Sankt Barbara" and has given its name to the baths, now known as the "Barbarathermen." Of these only the foundations remain; and although the excavations are extensive, much of the site is still covered by buildings in the neighborhood. Because less imposing than the larger ruins of a later time the Barbarathermen do not impress the traveler's imagination so strongly. Yet from all indications they must have been of an imposing splendor, and a marble torso of a statue of an Amazon found in them and now in the Provincial Museum shows that works of art from Italy and the South were imported for their decoration.

But after the first and second centuries came the third, and in that period of confusion and anarchy Trier felt the full fury of

the invasions of the Empire. Especially after the Roman *limes* fell into the hands of the Germans the hordes of invaders swept down time and time again upon the Roman city. From this danger it was saved by a resurgence of the spirit of independence and the establishment of an independent empire under Postumus. The Empire of the Gauls succeeded in giving protection to the land when the Romans of the South failed it, and the capital of this empire was Trier. Coins were issued here, and military forces guarded the city. Around it were built walls for the protection of the inhabitants, utilizing the amphitheater at one point, and enclosing an extensive area, much larger than that of the mediæval city. From such walls there remains what is the most important ruin and the symbol, as it were, of the entire city — the Porta Nigra. There is, to be sure, some question as to its exact date, and some would place it later. But at any rate it is to the visitor a reminder of the troubled times of the third century.

The Porta Nigra was the north gate of the city, and the side usually shown in photographs is the outer one, facing toward the enemy. On right and left are two towers, rounded out in semi-circular fashion and originally four stories high, though now the top story of the east one is gone. The two towers are connected by a structure in the same style, three stories high, through the bottom of which runs a double roadway with two archways side by side. The whole is in the upper parts a mass of engaged columns interspersed with openings, but the observer will note that in the lowest or ground story there were never any openings and the spaces between the engaged columns are walled in. The archways were guarded by portcullises, and what the photographs often fail to reveal shows more strongly than ever that the true purpose was a military one. For the inside is an open court, uncovered, with two stories of the upper structure looking down upon it, both practically all openings, from which the defenders could rain down missiles upon any enemy that might have passed the first barrier. And once inside this court the enemy must still fight his way past another hindrance on the city side, where a second pair of archways below the upper stories joined the towers.

In fact, the gate detached from the wall was a fortress in itself; and so it survived long after the wall had passed away, though the iron clamps which bound its blocks were removed by despoilers. Its sandstone blackened, and hence its name. Yet not its massiveness saved it, but the devotion of a holy man, a St. Simeon, who, coming back from Palestine, chose it as the place of his residence. Upon his death it was consecrated as the place of a church; and in fact there were two churches in it, one below and one above; and the visitor today sees the decorations of the ecclesiastical structures carved on the inner walls of the two upper stories, for the lower story was covered by the rising ground level and by steps. And there is still left attached on the east side a three-story rounded structure which served as the apse of the Christian buildings.

The Empire of the Gauls lasted only about fifteen years. But Trier did not lose its importance after the great Aurelian had won back the western half of the Empire. Twelve years later its position was enhanced, for when Diocletian called Maximian to be his associate, the latter took up his station at Trier. From this time begins the most glorious period in its history. And after 293, upon the selection of the new Caesars, the German city began to surpass Rome itself in importance and was equal in power with Milan, Sirmium, and Nicomedia. Flavius Constantius took up his abode here as Caesar, as did his more famous son, Constantine the Great, before he entered Italy to win his victory over Maxentius.

Trier is, in fact, the city of Constantine. He rebuilt the bridge over the Moselle, erected a great circus, and enhanced the appearance of his capital with stately buildings. Of these, one yet remains — a basilica, a massive brick structure, with an apse at one end, and the side walls broken by two rows of windows beneath brick arches which join shallow pilasters that run up almost to the roof, ninety feet above the base. The marble veneer and the decorations are all gone, and the building looks bare at the present time; but it is a massive structure yet. And appropriately enough, this market hall or court building of the first Christian

emperor is used today as a church, restored rather simply in 1856 and handed over to the Lutheran congregation for its uses. The interior is unobstructed by columns, the higher floor level at one end, where perhaps the judges sat, is preserved, and a square tabernacle perhaps takes the place of the emperor's seat. The whole gives an impression of spaciousness; and here, the better where an ancient building is in present-day use almost without alteration, I think one can best gain a sense of the importance of the city when it was in reality the head of Western Europe.

Before the basilica in Constantine's day extended an entrance hall with colonnades on either side, and before that a spacious forum. But this was some twelve feet below the present level. Yet the space is clear today; for the electors of Trèves continued to occupy the same region of the city, and the electoral palace, a building in the French style, extends before and impinges upon about one-half of the front of the basilica, though the Roman building far overtowers it. And the site of the Roman forum became the garden of the electors, and later a parade ground. So today in this open area the visitor may imagine himself in the imperial forum.

At one end of this space begin the remains of another great building, which at the eastern end, several blocks away, become most striking. Rising high into the air are the remains of immense vaults and arches of stone and brick work. These, after the Porta Nigra, are the most impressive ruins in Trier, and were for long known as the imperial palace, but quite erroneously; for they are the remaining portions of the *caldarium* of an immense Roman bath, built about the end of the third century. Only the brick work is left, the outer veneer having perished long ago; but the massiveness and immense proportions combine to create a most powerful effect. The *caldarium* itself was large enough to contain the whole Porta Nigra, and the other rooms were in proportion. But of these only the foundation walls remain.

Over where the *palaestra* used to be, adjoining Constantine's forum, the excavation is not complete. But at present a high

board fence surrounds it; and when I was there, behind the board fence two teams of German boys seemed to be playing a game of soccer football, with the vocal exhortations of their supporters ringing out in the same place in which the shouts of the athletes sounded in the days of the late Empire.

Yet the space was not a *palaestra* always, even under the Romans; for under Gratian, some forty or fifty years after the completion of the great baths, extensive changes took place. The open court was greatly enlarged by the demolition of the central buildings — hence only the foundation walls survive in that portion. The exact purpose of the remodeling is not definitely known. Some think the buildings may have become a basilica and forum for Gratian adjoining the forum of Constantine. Other suggestions, too, have been made. But whatever the use, the old *caldarium* became the main portion of the new structure; and so its remains still stand at the junction-point of two beautiful streets, while in the Provincial Museum near by excellent models are arranged to show the visitor the form of the building at its successive stages.

The cathedral of Trier has a mediaeval west front, but it is built around a center which goes back to Roman times; and its chief treasure, the Holy Cloak worn by Christ at the time of his crucifixion, was supposedly brought to the city by Helena, the mother of Constantine. The purpose of the original building on the site is uncertain, but its conversion into an ecclesiastical edifice at an early period is indicative of the shifting emphasis from the temporal to the spiritual, and of the eminence which Trier was later to have as the seat of an archbishop destined to acquire temporal significance as an elector of the Holy Roman Empire. Ere the Romans left, Trier was the seat of a bishop. And around the court and the church grew up a center of culture and schooling, along with Bordeaux one of the two intellectual centers of the Roman world in the fourth and fifth centuries. Here Athanasius visited, and the bishops were involved in the Arian controversy. Here St. Jerome studied and worked. But perhaps some of us will think first of all of Ausonius, the tutor of the Emperor

Gratian, whose famous poem, the *Mosella*, describes the scenery in the neighborhood.

Down into the fifth century lasted the city's glory, though the increasing pressure of the barbarians was ominous and indicative of the future. The seat of administration of the Gauls was moved to Arles about 400, and some ten years later the last Roman troops left Trier. Then came the Franks to take up what the Romans had abandoned, to sack the old capital time and time again, until about 470 the city was definitely Frankish.

But still it remains, says one writer, "a thriving city of fifty thousand people, prosecuting its trade with vigor and giving scant attention to its monuments of antiquity save to preserve them for the present-day visitor and for posterity."

And it is a lovely city. When one leaves the *Hauptbahnhof* there stretches before him a beautiful *allee* — a wide parkway of trees, with flowers, grass, and winding walks between two roadways — leading straight on to the Porta Nigra and beyond that almost to the Moselle. Similar *allees* extend on the east and south sides, almost equally beautiful. Although they do not exactly coincide with the line of the streets in the Roman city, yet they suggest to the visitor the old rectangular plan and mark out in a rough way the extent it comprised.

And occasionally there is a suggestion of the city's ancient glory. At least during my visit, there was being held one of the gatherings of the German youth. Banners were flying, the streets were crowded, and frequently there came marching down the streets a group of the *Jungen*, in costume, accompanied by their leader, with a fife or flute, the whole group bursting into song every now and then. The city was literally overrun. And I could not help wondering how often in the old days the Roman legionaries must have passed through the streets in the selfsame fashion. Following one group out one morning I came to the river, but on a subsequent walk I got slightly off the usual street and looked up at a street sign, to find myself on Ausonius Strasse. What better way, thought I, to be led to the Moselle than under the spiritual guidance of such a name?

There is painted on a house near the market place in Trier a Latin motto:

*Ante Romam Treveris stetit annis mille trecentis
Perstet et aeterna pace fruatur. Amen.*

"Ere Rome, stood Trier a thousand three hundred years.
Stand may it still, and eternal peace enjoy."

In fidelity to a certain respect for historical accuracy I must smile at the naïveté of the legend which inspired the first line. But when I think of a pleasant sojourn of a few days there in June, 1931, I can only reëcho the "Amen" of the second.

ROMAN AND MODERN MILITARY SCIENCE

Some Suggestions for Teaching

By LESTER K. BORN
Western Reserve University

In spite of the many changes, criticisms, and suggestions regarding the average secondary-school course in Latin, Caesar still constitutes the main original text to which the young student is introduced. It is therefore unfortunate that so many teachers and students alike have no first-hand knowledge of modern military science, much less an acquaintance with the historical developments of that subject. But a little attention, devoted to rather obvious sources, can help to remedy the situation.¹ How much simpler (not to mention interesting) will be the teaching of Caesar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus when the exponent of classical doctrine "modernizes" himself along these lines, as he has already done along others whose value may not be obvious to all.

In order to offer concrete support in simplest form to my plea, I have chosen to take my points from our one extant, but little-

¹ In the years immediately following the Great War, numerous helpful articles and notes appeared. Cf. *inter alia*, Lt.-Col. J. Marius Scammel, "The Art of Command according to Xenophon," *Army Quarterly* ix (1925), 352-65; "Early Introduction of New Recruits," *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings* XLIX (1923), 1447-50; and "Military Genius and the Naval War College," *ibid.* L (1924), 61-67; L. K. Born, "Caesar: The Art of Command," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXIII (1927), 94-106; and "Tanks and Roman Warfare," *ibid.* XXIII (1928), 564-72; Lincoln MacVeagh, "Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* vii, 45-52: The Attack at Gergovia, a Case of the 'Limited Objective,'" *Class. Week.* XXI (1928), 177-81; R. G. Kent, "The Military Tactics of Caesar and of Today," *ibid.* VIII (1914), 69 f.; E. F. Claflin, "Caesar's Bridge and the Modern Offensive-Defensive Strategy," *ibid.* VIII (1913), 208; and M. T. Englar, "Second Year Latin and Some Aspects of the World War," *ibid.* XII (1919), 99-102. Good works in small compass are E. S. McCartney, *Warfare by Land and Sea*: Boston, Marshall Jones Co. (1923); and O. L. Spaulding and others, *Warfare, A Study of Military Methods from the Earliest Times*: New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co. (1924). The introductions and notes to some of the more recent school texts are also useful.

read, handbook on Roman military science and tactics. The *Epitoma Rei Militaris* of Fl. Vegetius Renatus,² written in the fourth century of our era, not only has much to tell us which will illuminate the reading of the practical military writers and historians but also offers countless parallels to the texts of the various *Training Regulations* (TR) of the United States Army, and, in the special matter of tactics, to the *Field Service Regulations*.³ Both of these would certainly be available in any school at which there is located a unit of the R. O. T. C.

Vegetius starts (I, 1; cf. III, 10) by telling us that the old Roman armies conquered the world, and that this they were able to accomplish because of their training, character, and life. Comparable to Vegetius' remarks are the statements of TR 10-5, sec. 1-3:

The ultimate purpose of all military training is effectiveness in war, with a view to insuring the domestic peace and the international security of our people. . . . Military training is intended to develop in the individual or the unit the following qualities: military discipline; health, strength and endurance; morale; initiative and adaptability; leadership; teamwork; technical proficiency; tactical proficiency.

Even closer correspondence is found in the physical specifications of tall, full-chested, robust men of simple life⁴; the rate of "step" (I, 9) in quick-time, for which Vegetius suggests four miles per hour, and the modern army standard of twenty-eight steps per minute for parade and a rate of two and one-fourth to two and one-half miles per hour for marching⁵; in the fencing exercises (I, 11), which correspond to the fencing with dummy cavalry sabers or with wooden bayonets in our modern basic training⁶;

² Cf. C. Lang, *Fl. Vegeti Renati Epitoma Rei Militaris*²: Leipzig, B. G. Teubner (1885).

³ Cf. *Field Service Regulations* (FSR), U. S. Army: Washington, Government Printing Office (1924).

⁴ Cf. I, 3-7; *Army Regulations* (AR) 40-105 deal with physical specifications.

⁵ Cf. FSR, par. 304; even if we consider the difference in mile scales (4x5000, 2½x5280) we still have a difference of approximately 1½ miles. The modern army rate given is of course the average for prolonged marches.

⁶ It is useless to cite the several training regulations containing pertinent

the rudiments of equitation (I, 18); the training with dummy bows and arrows (I, 15), which correspond to the training with sighting-boxes and general musketry drill.

Both ancient and modern armies realized the need of continued directed development for recruits. Vegetius says (I, 8) that they should be drilled daily, in both morning and afternoon, whereas veterans need only one drill period. Age or length of service can never replace actual training for anyone. *Postremo sciendum est in pugna usum amplius prodesse quam vires* (II, 23). The Roman soldier was trained to march with his pack of sixty pounds (I, 19), which is approximately the same in weight as that of our army, which has recently lightened its pack. After finishing his basic training in drill and physical exercise, the soldier is trained in open-order work (I, 26), which exactly corresponds in its place in the training-schedule and in general theory to our modern system. In Roman times, just as in modern armies, the various activities of the service were recorded and directed through rosters, for Vegetius tells us about the duty roster, guard roster, morning report, etc.⁷

Another striking parallel of considerable interest has, as far as I know, not been pointed out in detail before. The Roman legion had its *aquila*, which corresponds to the modern regimental colors⁸; the cohorts had their *draco*, which corresponds to the battalion flags (now little used); and the century had its *vexillum*, which corresponds to the company guidons (II, 13), both bearing the designation of cohort (regiment) and century (company); and the individual soldier had painted on his shield the device

matter; suffice it to say that they (a complete list by number and title will be found in TR 10-5), together with the various training manuals, technical regulations, and field manuals, cover instructions in basic training, physical training, arms, equitation, artillery, fortification, maps, hygiene, guard duty, medical service, engineering, staff duties, etc.

⁷ Cf. II, 9; also H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions*: Oxford, The Clarendon Press (1928), especially chap. VIII, "The Conditions of Service."

⁸ While Vegetius does not mention it, each legion under the Empire also carried the image of the emperor (cf. Suet., *Calig.* XIV, 3, *Vit.* I, 4; Dio LIX, 29, 3; Tac., *Ann.* XII, 17, 3); this corresponds to the use of the national colors in the present-day regiments.

and number of his cohort (II, 18), which scheme corresponds to the present-day practice of collar ornaments bearing the regimental and company designation and to the post-war practice of devices on the shoulder-straps symbolic of the regiment's history.

In organization, too, there are certain patent parallels. In the modern army the division, consisting of approximately 20,000 men, including trains and animals "is the elementary organic unit of the combined arms. It comprises in its organization the essential combatant and administrative branches, all in correct proportion and so organized as to make it tactically and administratively a self-contained unit, capable of independent action."^{8a} In the Roman army the corresponding unit was the legion of about 6,000 soldiers with attached cavalry and auxiliaries such as archers, slingers, etc., which brought the total to nearly 10,000; cf. III, 1. As the modern infantry division is composed primarily of infantry, but with large elements of light artillery, engineers, some air service, medical troops, together with a tank and signal company, so the Roman legion consisted, as we all know, primarily of heavily equipped infantry supported by auxiliary troops and weapons, with engineering, artillery, service, and cavalry troops provided, *nullo extrinsecus indigens adiumento* (II, 2). Furthermore, the largest fighting element was habitually the legion, for too great a bulk was disastrous because of the difficulty in maintaining the food supply, in transportation, forage, water, etc. (III, 1). Its unity was preserved; any emergency calling for many more troops was met by sending a second legion. This army was commanded by a consular official, a *comes maior*; a major strategical operation usually required two or more separate armies (III, 1). These arrangements are not dissimilar to those of our army corps consisting (usually) of two infantry divisions and added troops, and the army, consisting of two or more corps, each under its own commander, in each case of higher grade.⁹

Now let us note one specific point of tactical organization

^{8a} Cf. FSR, par. 3.

⁹ For Vegetius' remarks on the legion in general, cf. II, 6-14.

within the two units just compared. Vegetius tells us (II, 25) that each legion is supported by fifty-five *carro-ballistae*; therefore each century was accompanied by this weapon and its mules to draw it, together with its operating crew of eleven men. Each legion was further supported by ten *onagri*, "wild asses," which were transported in ox-drawn wagons, so that each cohort (500 men) had one attached to it. These weapons are closely paralleled in our organization in both function and distribution by the machine gun and 37mm. gun, respectively. Both modern weapons are transported in mule-drawn carts; they require, respectively, a crew of eleven and eight men. One section (two guns) of the machine gun company is often assigned in support of each attack platoon (about fifty men); each infantry battalion in assault is usually supported by one platoon attached from the howitzer company, composed of one 37mm. gun and one mortar. The slightly higher ratio of assistance in fire power in the modern army is a war and post-war development which was found necessary and practicable.¹⁰

In matters covered in general by field service or maneuvers in the presence of the enemy the tactical and strategical principles of antiquity are still used to a great extent except when changes of armament and organization have made them impossible or unsound. Among the most informative sections in Vegetius for one interested in field problems are chapters 2-14 of Book III. A digest of the specific points he enumerates and evaluates corresponds closely in subject matter, sometimes even in phraseology, to the chapters on similar subjects in the *Field Service Regulations*. Vegetius tells us (III, 2) that the health of the command must be safeguarded through the proper selection of camp sites, the purification of the water, medical supervision, and training. His added comment is interesting: *Sed rei militaris periti plus cotidiana armorum exercitia ad sanitatem militum putaverunt prodesse quam medicos* (III, 2). He also discusses the selection

¹⁰ The modern infantry regiment consists of three battalions (each composed of three rifle and one machine gun company) a howitzer, and a service company, and a small medical detachment.

of a camp site to meet the needs of defense, food, forage, general sanitation, and possible offense (III, 8). The same subjects are discussed in FSR, pars. 371-77.

Vegetius clearly states the doctrine of *attack* as the basic principle of warfare which is so "modern,"¹¹ although he realizes that care must be taken never to engage in close combat troops that are wearied from long marching or other harassing conditions (III, 9, 11). This same material is set forth in FSR, pars. 289, 315 f. Vegetius devotes one complete chapter¹² to the selection of troops for the mission in accordance with the terrain which will confront them in their attack. In an advance over bad terrain, he urges that some engineering troops should be included, as is the modern practice.¹³ And the conditions of sun, wind, dust must be considered.¹⁴

The common-sense factor that motivates many military actions is illustrated by the fact that Vegetius suggests in his theoretical handbook a matter which Caesar often exemplified in practice (e.g. *B. G.* VII, 56), viz. that in fording a river cavalry should be sent across upstream to break the force of the current. His exact words here are: *Ergo explorato vado duae acies equitum electis animalibus ordinantur intervallis competentibus separatae . . . nam acies superior aquarum impetum frangit* (III, 7). With the passage in Vegetius compare the following from FSR, par. 311: "If the ford is broad enough, mounted troops may cross at the same time on the upstream side, thus breaking the force of the current." Vegetius likewise tells us that the constant use of patrols, front, flank, and rear, is of prime importance to secur-

¹¹ Cf. III, 10; and FSR, Introd. p. iii: "War is positive and requires positive action. All training should, therefore, aim to develop positive qualities of character rather than to encourage negative traits. The basis of training will be the attack"; and pars. 378-80: "Decisive results are obtained only by the offensive. Only through offensive action can a commander exercise his initiative and impose his will on the enemy" (par. 380).

¹² Cf. III, 13; and FSR, pars. 420-31.

¹³ Cf. III, 6; and FSR, par. 216.

¹⁴ Cf. III, 14; and FSR, pars. 422-25. On this point note also the comments of Livy (XXII, 46) and Polybius (III, 106-17) on the battle of Cannae, where the wind and dust were in the face of the Romans.

ity.¹⁵ In proximity to the enemy the marching column is to be arranged according to the possible needs of the impending combat.¹⁶ This subject is very similarly treated in FSR, par. 216. And last, but by no means least, Vegetius points out that, as infantry is the basic and primary branch of the service,¹⁷ *sciendum in peditibus vel maxime consistere robor exercitus*, so surprise is the vital factor in action.¹⁸

Tactically Vegetius points out several doctrines whose value is still appreciated. In III, 6 he stresses the vulnerability of an army on the march and the great danger of debouching from a defile in the proximity of the enemy (III, 11). *Qui rem militarem studiosius didicerunt, adserunt plura in itineribus quam in ipsa acie pericula solere contingere* (III, 6). Therefore the ground to be advanced upon must be studied beforehand from maps and must also be carefully reconnoitered. These same points are discussed in detail in FSR, pars. 291 f. One of the fundamental teachings of modern military science is the necessity of securing a "bridgehead" before attempting to move the main body of troops over the stream. This is done by sending ahead a party of sufficient strength and suitable composition to gain and hold by entrenchments and (if necessary) light artillery emplacements the free passage and control of the bridge or ford to be crossed. If the line is likely to be needed for communications to and from the rear, both sides of the crossing should be secured. The advice of Vegetius¹⁹ is paralleled by the teachings of FSR, pars. 570-79.

Certain matters in field service are primarily the responsibility of the General Staff Corps, as they relate to the security of the whole command, the success of the general mission, and the

¹⁵ Cf. III, 6; with this cf. FSR, pars. 214-46.

¹⁶ Cf. III, 6; for an actual example, cf. Caesar, *B. G.* II, 19.

¹⁷ Cf. III, 9; and FSR, pars. 44, 46, 49.

¹⁸ Cf. III, 9; with this cf. FSR, par. 382: "All combat action must be based on the effect of surprise. Surprise takes the enemy in a state of moral and material unpreparedness, prevents him from taking effective countermeasures, and often compensates for numerical inferiority in force. . . ."

¹⁹ Cf. III, 7; for examples, cf. Caesar, *B. G.* II, 5; IV, 18; VI, 9.

strategical principles employed against the enemy. Nothing in this connection could be sounder or more modern than Vegetius' statement, *sed cautela caput est, ut ad quae loca vel quibus itineribus sit profecturus exercitus ignoretur*.²⁰ And last we consider one of the most important items of all, the "Estimate of the Situation," which is prepared primarily by G-2 and by G-3, i.e. by the general staff officers of the main body of troops who are charged, one with securing and evaluating the information concerning the enemy, and the other with evaluating the strength and condition of our own troops. Vegetius says in III, 6 and in III, 9 that it is essential to learn before going into action the customs of the opposing army, as well as its equipment, strength, position, training, morale, the various branches of the service constituting its force, the conditions of the food supply, the characteristics of the general in command and of the other high officers, and the disposition to offensive or defensive tactics.²¹ It is equally important, he tells us, to know the conditions of the terrain, whether it be favorable to the enemy or to our troops, the morale of our own men, their training, experience, physical condition at the time, and their reaction to the leadership of their officers (III, 9).

In our army today, once the points that we have mentioned have been ascertained, they are set forth in such detail as is required by the commander for whom they are intended, in the following invariable order:

1. Statement of the mission to be performed.
2. Information concerning the enemy.
3. Information concerning our own troops.
4. Terrain, climate, weather, visibility, etc.
5. Possible plans, based upon the information contained in 1-4.

Upon the basis of this detailed information the commander outlines his plan of action. "The officer issuing the order can not share the responsibility therefor with any of his subordinates.

²⁰ Cf. III, 6; and FSR, par. 28: "As a rule, however, it is desirable to keep contemplated movements secret as long as possible, and to confine knowledge thereof to higher staff officers and leaders of the larger units."

²¹ Cf. FSR, Introd., p. iii: "The character of the opponent is a decisive factor in the selection of the means and methods of war."

The decision, no matter how arrived at, is his alone." ²² This point Vegetius also noted (III, 19).

In conclusion, let me append here the "Estimate of the Situation" found in Caesar, *B. G.* II, 7-9 (the battle with the Remi), and *B. C.* III, 82-92 (the battle of Pharsalus) as concrete evidence of the one point that I have tried to make, viz. that much which appears to be "modern" is distinctly ancient. The onus of faulty or incomplete interpretation of this material from the past must be taken upon ourselves.

THE BATTLE WITH THE REMI

- I. Mission (general)
 - To subdue the tribes of Gaul (Cf. *B. G.*, *passim.*)
- II. Enemy (G-2)
 - A. *a*) Strength and composition (7 f.)
 - b*) Location (8)
 - c*) Morale and reputation (8)
 - C. *a*) Space (7)
 - b*) Terrain (9)
 - D. Mode of attack (8)
 - E. Probable intentions (9)
- III. Own troops (G-3)
 - A. *a*) Composition (8)
 - b*) Location (8)
 - d*) Morale (8)
 - B. *a*) Space (7)
 - b*) Terrain (8 f.)
 - C. Actions affected by enemy's strength (8)
- IV. Decision
 - To fight (8)

THE BATTLE OF PHARSALUS

- I. Mission
 - To check Pompey decisively
- II. Enemy (G-2)
 - A. *a*) Kind and nature of troops (88)
 - b*) Disposition of troops (88)
 - Number of troops (82)
 - c*) Physical condition (85)
 - Morale high (82)

²² Cf. FSR, par. 19.

- Eager to fight (82)
- Self-confident (82)
- Overconfident (82)
- B. Prisoners, deserters, etc. (87; cf. also 60 f.)
- C. a) Space (92)
- b) Terrain (88)
- III. Own troops (G-3)
 - A. a) Number of troops (89)
 - b) Disposition of troops (89)
 - d) Physical condition (84 f.)
 - Morale (84)
 - Training and tactics (84)
 - B. a) Space (92)
 - b) Terrain (88)
 - f) Supply (84)
- IV. Decision
 - To commit to a final battle (81), on occasion furnished by the enemy (85); to take the offensive (90).²³

²³ The arrangement and paragraph letterings follow the outline for estimates of the situation as given in *The Solution of Map Problems*: Fort Leavenworth, Kan., Command and General Staff School (1923). Neither of Caesar's estimates gives us the complete information in all details as is clearly shown by the omission of certain subparagraphs.

THE *FROGS* OF ARISTOPHANES AS A TYPE OF PLAY¹

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The *Frogs* of Aristophanes made a timely appearance at the Lenaea of 405 B.C., about four months after the death of Euripides and about two months after the death of Sophocles. In that play Dionysus, seized with a yearning for Euripides, journeyed to Hades in order to restore that poet to Athens. Then ensued a contest, formally constituting the *agon* of the play, between Aeschylus and Euripides, of whom the former finally prevailed over his younger rival and returned to earth to help his distracted city. This literary contest, turning on the stylistic and spiritual qualities of the men as poets and teachers, had assumed tangible form in the mind of Aristophanes as early as the time of the *Clouds* (423 B.C.); for in that play Strepsiades relates how Phidippides displayed his aversion for Aeschylus, as compared with his fondness for Euripides and his new-fangled songs, as follows:

And then I asked him at any rate to take a myrtle wreath and recite for me something of Aeschylus. Thereupon he immediately replied, "Am I really to consider Aeschylus the chief of poets, when he is so full of rant, so unpolished, bombastic, and grandiloquent?" How do you think my heart throbbed then? But still I held my passion down and said, "Well, recite something of our younger school, whatever their new-fangled compositions are." And he immediately began to sing a passage of Euripides (vss. 1364-71).

Besides the literary contest the other feature of the *Frogs* to be noticed is the descent to Hades.² The purpose of this paper is to

¹ Read at the eleventh annual meeting of the Ohio Classical Conference at Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, October 27, 1932.

² Benjamin B. Rogers in his edition of the *Frogs* (London, G. Bell and Sons [1919], Preface, xvi-xviii) argues that Aristophanes, after working out each of these themes independently, superimposed one upon the other, quite inorganically to form the *Frogs*, a thesis which is interesting, if true.

show that neither the literary contest nor the visit to Hades is original with Aristophanes in the *Frogs*, for both devices seem to have become common property, and to point out in other comedies, approximately contemporary, certain features found also in the *Frogs*. The decease of the great leaders and artists suggested to the comic poets a consultation with them in Hades and in some cases the restoration of them (in the fiction of the plot) to life in the upper world; and the disappearance from Old Comedy of its charged political atmosphere paved the way for the literary contest³ as being less incriminating, less occasional, and more universal. Both devices are symptomatic of the changing political and social conditions which were working themselves out during these intensely dramatic years. Several comedies, known to us only in a fragmentary way, show signs of having plots or themes which are also found in the *Frogs*. Though the substance of these comedies is lost, we may at least consider the evidence which we have regarding them.

In a play of Aristophanes called the *Gerytades*, the title being presumably the name of a person, a delegation was chosen by the living poets in assembly to approach the poets in the lower world. The delegation was composed of a man from each branch of the arts⁴ who was so endowed as to qualify most eminently in the opinion of his fellow poets for residence in the nether regions. There was Sannyrion from the comic poets, Meletus from the tragic choruses, and Cinesias from the cyclic.⁵ The research of

³ Keen rivalry during these years in both tragic and comic circles must have brought with it bitter animosities and partisanship in real life too. Echoes of the mutual incriminations of Eupolis and Aristophanes over the *Knights* have come down to us in the *Clouds* 553-56 and elsewhere.

⁴ In the *Frogs* 761-65 Aeacus explains to Xanthias, the grumbling slave of Dionysus, that it is an established custom in the lower world for the best craftsmen, one from each of the great crafts respectively, to have dinner in the Prytaneum and to sit beside Pluto's throne.

⁵ Cf. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, I, frag. 149 of Aristophanes. Future references to Kock (referred to as "K.") will be to the fragment of the poet in consideration. Somewhat similar to the sending of this delegation to Hades is the summons which Pluto issues through Aeschylus at the end of the *Frogs* (vss. 1504-14) to Cleophon, Myrmex, Nicomachus, and Archenomus, that they make a speedy trip to Hades, under threat of dire punishment if they refuse to comply.

the committee, however, once it had arrived, seems to have been restricted largely to gastronomic rather than to poetical things, a situation not surprising to one who travels in Greek lands. Such were the appetites of these delegates that they thought largely in terms of the festal board.⁶ The delegates became guests at a poetical dinner at which were served, amid a great plenitude of more palatable viands, the words of Sthenelus, an impoverished tragic poet whose penury, a scholiast says,⁷ forced him even to sell his paraphernalia. A conversation seems to have gone on regarding the tragic poets, for some one asks how he can manage to eat the words of this Sthenelus. Only a generous dose of vinegar or salt could make such a dish palatable, is the gist of the reply (K. 151). The conversation on literary subjects continues, as with a word of praise for Aeschylus at the banquet (K. 153); or when one of the newer and thinner (in more ways than one) poets is recommended, perhaps to Euripides, to be treated and fattened with monodies (K. 154); or when the beginning of the *Hecuba* of Euripides (K. 149, 1) or a verse from the *Electra* of Sophocles (K. 168) is parodied. Agathon, at whose home on the occasion of the celebration of his first tragic victory lies the scene of Plato's *Symposium*, at another point was scoffed at for his effeminacy (K. 169).⁸ To this play Dindorf would ascribe a fragment which speaks of somebody, perhaps Euripides, who was licking the honey-anointed lips of Sophocles (K. 581). Satyrus, a biographer of the last quarter of the third century B.C., in his recently found *Life of Euripides* quotes from a comic poet of malicious intentions against Euripides a passage which apparent-

⁶ Cf. Kock 155-57 and 163. Dionysus, too, in the *Frogs* 108-15, before descending to Hades on his mission, asked Heracles which friends entertained him when he went to Hades in quest of Cerberus; and he wanted to know about the harbors, bakeries, brothels, resting places, inns, fountains, roads, cities, accommodations, hostesses, and where were the fewest bugs!

⁷ Cf. scholium ad *Wasps* 1312.

⁸ The simple statement of a scholiast (ad Lucian, p. 222, ed. Iacobitz) to this effect is greatly overtaxed by Mrs. Wright in her *Short History of Greek Literature*: Chicago, American Book Co. (1907), 269, when she says that, "if we may believe the scholiast, Aristophanes devoted the lost *Gerytades* to a satire of his [Agathon's] style."

ly gives instructions for making up a dish of poetry. The ingredients are portions of Sophocles and Aeschylus, the whole of Euripides, and a dash of salt — salt, the poet warns, and not drivel, playing on the similarity of ἄλας and λάλας. Aristophanes has been suggested by the editor of the *Supplementum Comicum*⁹ as the author of this fragment, and in the light of the fragments of the *Gerytades* here mentioned, it may well have come from this play. Using Satyrus' *Life of Euripides* as evidence, Geissler¹⁰ definitely assigns the *Gerytades* to the year 408 B.C. While this play is known only by a few fragments, at any rate the motif of the descent to Hades and the numerous suggestions of literary criticism, innuendo, and parody lend to it a certain similarity to the *Frogs*.

The *Demes* of Eupolis is another play which bears some resemblance to the *Frogs*, although it seems to have preceded Aristophanes' play by several years.¹¹ In the *Frogs* (vss. 71 f.) it is the decease of the great masters of tragedy which prompts Dionysus, the patron god of the theater, to restore Euripides to the upper world. This play of Eupolis recognizes the same lack of competent leadership in the realm of politics. With Pericles dead and the state in the hands of his less capable successors, the people were sorely pressed for counsel. At this juncture Eupolis introduced upon the stage, probably one at a time, Solon, Miltiades, Aristides, and Pericles, to help the distracted populace in the passing and rescinding of laws.¹² Pisistratus, too, was intro-

⁹ Cf. I. Demiańczuk, *Supplementum Comicum*: Krakow, Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności (1912), 94; and *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* ix (1912), 160, frag. 39, col. xvi, vss. 6-9.

¹⁰ Cf. Paul Geissler, "Chronologie der Altattischen Komödie," *Phil. Untersuchungen* xxx (1925), 61 f.

¹¹ It was produced in 412 B.C.; cf. Geissler, *op. cit.* 54 f.

¹² It will be remembered that political allusions are frequent in the *Frogs* too. In vss. 420-34 Aristophanes attacks Archdemus, Clisthenes, and Callias for their rascality and debauchery. Cleophon is attacked in vss. 674-85 and 1532 f. In vss. 686 f. the poet asserts the duty of the chorus to advise and teach the city in what is best and then proceeds to urge equality of rights and an amnesty in the hour of peril; cf. vss. 687-705. Dionysus, in a quandary as to whether he should choose Aeschylus or Euripides, finally decides to take back him who best advises the city (vss. 1420 f.) and then asks for their reac-

duced (K. 123), though he probably took no vital part in the plot. The play took its name from the chorus, which was composed of the demes or wards into which Attica was divided. Nicias seems to have been the one who roused these heroes from Hades; and indeed the death of Nicias in Sicily in 413 B.C., the year before the production of this piece, supplied an easy motivation for the plot of the play. At any rate the scene from now on is laid not in Hades, as is the case in the *Frogs*, but in the upper world.¹³ In one fragment Nicias asked Aristides how he came to be just (K. 91). "Justice," replied Aristides, "is for the most part born in one; but then I, too, have zealously cultivated this inborn gift." In another fragment it is perhaps Aristides again who counsels that justice must be guarded everywhere (K. 92). The power and charm of Pericles' oratory is lauded in one of Eupolis' best known fragments (K. 94), whereas, when the question is asked as to whether there really is nowadays any rhetor worthy of mention, the reply is that Buzyges (Demostratus) is the best — the scoundrel (K. 96). The Demes call upon Pericles and Miltiades no longer to allow dissolute striplings to rule and to drag along the generalship upon their ankles (K. 100). They, too, in a longer fragment express their pain at seeing the government which prevails among them. In earlier days the city had generals from the greatest houses, men who were first in wealth and family. These men they worshiped as gods, and, indeed, they were gods, whereas nowadays, the Demes complain, we have to take the field with scapegoats as generals (K. 117).¹⁴ In the *parabasis* one of the base demagogues or generals was lashed with the scathing judgment of the poet that he de-

tion on Alcibiades (vss. 1422 f.) and on the best course of safety for the state (vss. 1435 f.).

¹³ Rogers, *op. cit.* xvii, in maintaining the thesis mentioned in n. 2, observes that there is nothing anywhere in the literary contest of the *Frogs* to indicate that the scene was laid in the lower world. The original version of it may have had nothing to do with Hades.

¹⁴ Similarly in the *Frogs* 718-37 Aristophanes takes the city to task for ignoring her citizens of true mettle, prudence, justice, and culture, while using for every task strangers, rogues, and the sons of rogues whom before she would not have used even for scapegoat victims. Cf. also *Frogs* 1454-57.

serves to be burned under the curse of the city where the three roads meet near the statue of Hecate, and to sizzle (K. 120). There is a Greek proverb not to give a sword to a child. Changing this slightly to suit his own didactic purpose, Eupolis counseled his fellow-citizens not to give the commonwealth to a child (K. 121). The populace as well as the demagogues seem to have felt the lash of Eupolis' satire, for Demus, the allegorical figure symbolizing the citizenry of Athens, in one fragment is said to be best versed in prattling but most incompetent in speaking (K. 95). Another fragment calls attention to the lack of reward for being a citizen of outstanding merit, as contrasted with the prize which is given to the victorious runner (K. 118). What are apparently the last two verses of the play are preserved. The coryphaeus, or leader of the chorus, bids the chorus approach these heroes of the past as they return to Hades, to honor them and dedicate to them olive-wreaths. The chorus bids them all farewell, and they in their turn joyfully accept the offerings of the chorus (K. 119). Here, then, we have a play roughly with the content of the *Knights* and the form of the *Frogs*. The descent to Hades, the restoration of the heroes of the past to the upper world for the purpose of consulting with them and of seeking advice in the city's hour of need, and the contrast between the glorified past and decadent present, are all familiar notes to readers of the *Frogs*.

The portrayal of Dionysus as an effeminate recruit under the command of the general, Phormio, is a well-established feature of the *Taxiarchs* of Eupolis.¹⁵ The god seems from many fragments¹⁶ to have found military discipline with all of its attend-

¹⁵ Since Phormio died probably in the course of the year 428/27 B.C. (cf. Thucydides II, 102 f. and III, 7), and since Eupolis did not make his *début* until 429 B.C., at the age of seventeen, it seems quite likely that the *Taxiarchs* was produced after the death of Phormio. In this event Phormio's death may have motivated the mission of Dionysus to Hades, just as that of Euripides and Sophocles did in the *Frogs*, and as the death of Nicias may have prompted a scene in Hades in the *Demes* of Eupolis. Geissler 32, following Wilamowitz, places the death of Phormio in 428 B.C. and the appearance of the *Taxiarchs* in 427 B.C.

¹⁶ Cf. K. 250, 251, 253, 255-58, and 262.

ant hardships and deprivations in life and diet as distasteful as was rowing in the *Frogs* (vss. 197-255). In this connection will be recalled the amusing scene of the *Frogs* (vss. 460-673) in which the faint-hearted and effeminate Dionysus, with a lion's skin over his shoulders and a club in his hand after the fashion of Heracles, announced himself in Hades. When threatened by Aeacus, out of fright he turned over his heroic attire to Xanthias; but when Persephone's maidservant, instead, beguiles Xanthias with the assurance of savory food and fair company, Dionysus feels the heroic urge once again. So his temperament blows hot and cold.

The *Muses* of Phrynichus, placed second in competition with the *Frogs*, seems to have set forth a contest for the laurels of tragedy between Sophocles and Euripides, with the Muses as arbiters, just as the *Frogs* singled out Aeschylus and Euripides. A play of this character would be an appropriate complement to the *Frogs*, bringing Sophocles to the fore and giving him his due in the way of praise and also of ridicule and parody. The extant fragments reveal what little we know about the play. One of them eulogizes Sophocles as follows:

Blessed Sophocles, who passed away after a long life, a happy and fortunate man, the author of many beautiful tragedies. He came to a fair end, untouched by sorrow.¹⁷

Another fragment brings us to the issue of the contest, with the words, "Here, take the vote. This is the urn which acquits, and this one convicts" (K. 32). Meineke suspected that the lewd and

¹⁷ Cf. K. 31. Sophocles had of necessity to be relegated to a minor rôle in the *Frogs*. While he is by no means exempt from parody in other plays of Aristophanes, he appears in an idealized portrait here. The rogue Euripides would have attempted to run back to the upper world with Dionysus, whereas Sophocles was agreeable either above or below; cf. *Frogs* 80-82. Later, Xanthias asked why Sophocles, too, did not claim the throne, whereupon Aeacus related how Sophocles kissed Aeschylus and gave him his right hand, and confided in Clidemides his intention of competing only in case Euripides should prevail over Aeschylus; cf. vss. 786-94. The latter poet in departing from Hades instructed Pluto to entrust his seat to Sophocles as long as he might be away, for Sophocles he judged to be second in poetic inspiration; cf. vss. 1515-19.

vagrant street-walker of another fragment (K. 33) was the Muse of Euripides. To this play may also belong, as Meineke has suggested, first, the fragment in which Lamprus, who taught Sophocles the art of music, is traduced as being a teetotaler, a whimpering archsophist drained dry of the Muses, an ague to nightingales, a song of death (K. 69); and second, the verse in which Phrynichus speaks of Sophocles as being not sweet, insipid wine, nor adulterated, but Pramnian (K. 65). Here then is a play which was staged to compete with the *Frogs*, and shows signs of having had some kind of literary contest.

The *Crapatali* of Pherecrates is the next play to be considered. This title, meaning the *Good-for-Nothings*, is the word for a piece of currency for use in Hades, of value equivalent to the drachma, and therefore, the dramatist implies, worthless. It is altogether certain from several fragments of this play that the scene was at least partly laid in Hades. One fragment reads as follows: "In Hades you will buy a *crapatalus* for a half-drachma" (K. 81). We presume, then, that somebody is receiving directions about the exchange before starting for Hades. In another fragment directions are apparently given for a sure and quick passage to Hades, as follows: "My fine fellow! Get a fever and think nothing of it; and eat some 'Phibalis' figs in the heat of summer, and when you have had your fill of them, take a nap at midday; and then take a spasm and burn and yell" (K. 80).¹⁸ A close parallel to this fragment is that passage of the *Frogs* where Dionysus says to Heracles, "No more of that, but tell me by which road we shall go down to Hades most quickly; and do not name a hot one nor one too cold" (vss. 117-19). Heracles then proceeds to enumerate three quick paths to Hades, none of which meets with the approval of Dionysus, viz. by hanging, taking hemlock, or jumping from a tower in the Ceramicus (vss. 120-34). Another fragment of this play of Pherecrates (K. 91) reads, "How strange it is to be a mother and also a wife!" If the scene lies in Hades, we may have an allusion here to Jocasta,

¹⁸ For the eating of figs at midday, cf. K. 463 in the *Rehearsal* of Aristophanes.

the mother and at the same time the wife of Oedipus, the king of Thebes. Furthermore, Aeschylus at one point in this play pointed to his "having built up and handed down to them a great profession" (K. 94). The context of this passage appears to have been a discussion of the merits of Aeschylus as a poet, conducted in Hades and participated in by Aeschylus himself, comparable, perhaps, to that passage of the *Frogs* (vss. 1044-56) where Aeschylus defends his characters and ideals. A strikingly close replica of this last fragment is found in the *parabasis* of the *Peace*,¹⁹ where Aristophanes claims to have built up to a towering height a great profession. There is no conclusive proof that it is Aristophanes here who is paraphrasing the words of Pherecrates and not the reverse, and only by a plausible conjecture can the *Crapatali* be placed either shortly before or after 421 B.C., the date of the *Peace*. At any rate, some relation between this play and Hades is definitely assured; and, as noted above, there is some evidence for a literary discussion in the play.

Another play of Pherecrates manifests an interest in Hades for its own sake, without any relation to the great leaders who have passed away or to a literary contest. For in a long fragment²⁰ of the *Miners* of Pherecrates, a woman who has returned from the lower world graphically describes what she had seen down there. The passage reads like a charwoman's conception of paradise. Wealth and every conceivable blessing are bound up in everything. There were rivers of porridge, cheesecakes, puddings, sausage, fillets, etc. Roast thrushes flew around, coaxing to be eaten, and beautiful apples hung poised in midair, apart from their trees. There were girls clad in shawls of silk and just reaching the flower of youth, with the hair shorn off their bodies. A close parallel to this last item of the description lies in the dancing girls in the *Frogs* (vs. 516) who were promised to Xanthias, at that time posing as Dionysus. For they too were in the flower of youth and had just lately had their bodies plucked of

¹⁹ Cf. vs. 749 and scholium.

²⁰ Cf. K. 108. A play of this title is attributed to the comic poet Nicomachus too, so that some doubt hangs about the question of authorship.

hair. The evidence as to the date of this play points to the first decade of the Peloponnesian War.²¹ Old Comedy in the hands of Pherecrates had lost its political bias. His interest in the extravagant portrayal of fantastic sociological conceptions led him to his description in the *Miners* of the Fields of the Blest and to his invasion of Hades in the *Crapatali*.

All of the plays discussed above, except the *Frogs*, survive only in a fragmentary way and present the hazards inherent in that kind of material. The evidence, however, is many times clear and incontrovertible. Neither the motif of the descent to Hades, being at least as old as Homer's *Odyssey* and found in the cyclic epic too, was original with Aristophanes in the *Frogs*, nor the literary or academic turn given to the *agon*. When the political row became too intense for a discussion of political affairs, the comic poets sought refuge in just such themes. The general decadence of the time made their romantic yearning for the better days of the past particularly appropriate and suggested, as the great leaders and masters died off, consultation with them in Hades. The *Frogs*, then, is a typical and genuine reflection of the Athenian thought of the decade or so preceding it.

²¹ Cf. Geissler 40 f.

TERENTIANUS MAURUS, METRICAL METRICIAN

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Keil's edition of the *Grammatici Latini* is not a work to which one would ordinarily go for light reading, but to anyone who wishes to waste an afternoon pleasantly I can heartily recommend the metrical textbook of Terentianus Maurus.¹

Nothing is known about the author, except that he must have been writing after A.D. 150 and that he came from Africa. How much later we should place him and where he spent his life are matters for conjecture. A single manuscript of his work was discovered in 1493, but was lost a few years later after the publication of the first edition. The work as we have it is not complete. As it exists, it consists of a total of just under three thousand lines in a variety of meters. The letters of the alphabet are first discussed in about three hundred lines written in the rather rare Ionic meter called the Sotadean, a favorite with Terentianus. Next a thousand lines, partly trochaic, partly dactylic, deal with syllables. The remainder of the work, the only part with which this paper is concerned, treats of meters and is written in nearly every variety of line known to the Romans as well as in some that seem to exist nowhere else.

After giving the usual rules for the length of syllables in some forty trochaic tetrameters, Terentianus, still in the same meter, defines and gives examples of the four types of feet which contain two syllables each and the eight types which have three syllables each. For the definitions and examples of the sixteen four-syllable feet he reverts to the Sotadean meter, interpolating one line of fifteen short syllables to show the possibilities of the

¹ Cf. H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*: Leipzig, Teubner (1874), Vol. VI, pp. 313-413. In this edition the work is divided into three parts, but the lines are numbered consecutively: 1-278, *De Litteris*; 279-1299, *De Syllabis*; 1300-2981, *De Metris*.

proceleusmatic and one dactylic hexameter to make possible the use of the word ἀντίσπαστον which will not stand in the Ionic, thus:

Pes nomen habebit, quod in hoc referre metro
Longae prohibent ordine tres simul locatae:
 Ἀντίσπαστον enim mage lex heroica promēt (1481-83).

This freedom to change his meter to suit his material suggests one advantage that Terentianus enjoys over the ordinary poet. Another lies in the fact that in case of need he can violate ordinary usage and then make a virtue of necessity by explaining the license. For example, the word παρίαιβον, beginning as it does with two shorts, does not fit in the rather strict form of trochaic tetrameter which he uses. He calmly lengthens the first syllable, writing:

Παρίαιβον namque dicunt, si probatis ἔτασιν (1369).

Again, when he introduces into this same meter the word ἀνάπαιστος, the first three syllables of which form an anapaest, he writes an atrocious line beginning

Is erit ἀνάπαιστος,

and at once explains

Versus hic nusquam vacillat, hoc suo reddam loco (1403 f.)

Much later he fulfills this promise. The trochaic tetrameter he regards as formed by prefixing a cretic foot to a line of iambic trimeter, and both the long syllables of the cretic may be resolved.

Est ergo et ille versus integer meus,
Quo quinque feci syllabarum creticum,
 IS ERIT ANAPAESTUS, quinque, post spondeus est (2355-57).

He is here writing in iambic trimeter.

The more interesting part of the work follows, viz. the discussion of the meters themselves. He starts with the statement that originally there were only two meters, each of six feet, the dactylic (spondaic) hexameter and the iambic trimeter. Accordingly in his preliminary discussion of meters he uses these lines alternately, thus:

*Hexametros tradit genitos duo prima vetustas:
 Herous ille est, hunc vocant iambicum.
 Nam pedibus senis constare videmus utrumque,
 Diversa quamquam lex sit ambobus pedum (1580-83).*

Somewhat doubtfully he adds that even these two primitive meters may have come from the same words differently pronounced. The story goes that when Apollo was fighting the Python at Delphi, the people of the place gathered about to cheer on the young god.

*Tendebat geminas pavida exclamatio voces,
 Ἰὴ παῖάν, Ἰὴ παῖάν, Ἰὴ παῖάν:
 Spondeis illum primo natum cernis sex.
 Ex parte voces concitas lacti dabunt,
 Ἰὴ παῖάν, Ἰὴ παῖάν, Ἰὴ παῖάν,
 Et hinc pedum tot ortus est iambicus (1590-95).*

As typical of Terentianus' method in changing his meters, we may note that although in the passages which precede and follow the lines here quoted he uses dactylic and iambic lines alternately, here the three lines describing the origin of the spondee are dactylic, while the next three lines are iambic trimeters; and further that the line beginning *spondeis* contains nothing but spondees, while the line ending *iambicus* is pure iambic.

Still employing alternate hexameters and trimeters Terentianus treats of heroic verse in much the conventional way. Then shifting to the elegiac he presents various theories in regard to the pentameter. This he regards as the result of repeating that portion of a dactylic verse which precedes the penthemimeral caesura. This same pause may be regarded as dividing the line into a dactylic trimeter and an anapaestic dimeter. His use of the meters themselves in discussing them is characteristic. The first part of the heroic line, he says,

*Praemisso hexametro dulcem subnectit epodum.
 Talis epodus erit,
 TIBIA DOCTA, PRÉCOR, TANDEM MIHI DICERE VERSUS
 DESINE MAENALIOS.
 Hoc doctum Archilochum tradunt genuisse magistri:
 Tu mihi, Flacce, sat es,*

"DIFFUGERE NIVES, REDEUNT IAM GRAMINA CAMPIS
ARBORIBUSQUE COMAE."

*Cetera pars superest, "MEA TIBIA DICERE VERSUS":
Haec iuncta frequentius edet
Anapaestica dulcia metra
Cuicumque libebit, ut istos,
Triplices dare sic anapaestos*² (1803-15).

From the heroic and elegiac lines are now developed a large number of other meters. A few examples will be enough to show his method. If from the hexameter line,

At tuba terribilem sonitum procul aere recurvo (1855),³

we take the initial syllable, we get the anapaestic line,

Tuba terribilem sonitum procul aere recurvo (1858).

Again, if in the pentameter,

Nulla meo sedeat turba profana loco (1864),

we insert *iam* after *meo*, and lengthen *loco* to *luco*, the result is a choriambic trimeter with iambic close:

Nulla meo iam sedeat turba profana luco (1873).

The normal meter throughout this part of the work is either heroic or elegiac, but the author constantly shifts into the verse form he is describing, thus giving example and precept at the same time. Most of his examples are quoted, or misquoted, from the Latin poets, but when such examples fail him, he makes up his own. Thus he ends his discussion of the hexameter and its relatives with a meter consisting of the last two feet of a hexameter line, e.g. *primus ab oris*.

*Continuasse pedes istos in carmine solos
Dicitur haec eadem praeclara poetria Sappho.
Fingere nobis
Tale licebit,*

² The Horatian example is from the beginning of *Odes*, iv, 7. The other examples are adapted from Verg., *Ecl.* viii, 61. Terentianus shows great freedom in his treatment of the passages he quotes as examples from the poets. Many of the changes are necessary for his purpose, but others seem to be due simply to carelessness.

³ Cf. Verg., *Aen.* ix, 503, where for *recurvo* we find *canoro*.

PRIMUS AB ORIS
 TROIUS HEROS,
 PERDITA FLAMMIS
 PERGAMA LINQUENS,
 EXSUL IN ALTUM
 VELA RESOLVIT:
 SAEPE REPULSUS
 AUSONE TERRA
 MOENIA FESSIS
 SERA LOCAVIT;
 UNDE LATINUM
 POST GENUS ORTUM
 ALTAQUE MAGNAE
 MOENIA ROMAE.

Pluribus idcirco, parvis ut notius esset

Versiculis carmen condi potuisse, peractum (2159-78).⁴

Following the discussion of the hexameter, he gives the rules for the iambic trimeter and derives from this meter all the known varieties of iambic and trochaic lines, including the Saturnian. These are defined and illustrated, Terentianus often changing his own meter to fit that which he is treating. I spare you the details but present as an example of the results one familiar line of Catullus in its various disguises.

"Phaselus ille quem videtis, hospites" (2277).

Phaselus ille quem videtis, hospites, Sabinus (2376).

Phaselus ille quem videtis, hospites, Sabinus est (2379).

Est celer phaselus ille quem videtis, hospites (2311).

Adest celer phaselus ille quem videtis, hospites (2279).

Adest celer phaselus ille quem vides (2424).

Est celer phaselus ille quem vides (2426).

Phaselus ille quem vides Sabinus est (2431).

Phaselus ille quem vides Sabinus (2432).

Phaselus ille quem vides (2445).

Adest celer phaselus est (2460).

Adest celer phaselus (2464).

Est celer phaselus est (2467).⁵

⁴ Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I for the narrative. Six of the lines used actually end Vergilian lines: *primus ab oris*, *Aen.* I, 1; *Troius heros*, VI, 451; *exsul in altum*, III, 11; *moenia fessis*, V, 717 (*fessi*); *unde Latinum*, I, 6; *moenia Romae*, I, 7.

⁵ Cf. Cat. IV, 1. The name Sabinus is due to Vergil's parody, *Catalepton* X, 1.

In the portion of the work which follows, Terentianus shows his most perverse ingenuity. Having disposed of the meters formed more or less directly from the dactylic and iambic six-stressed lines, he now mixes these two fundamental types. The basic meter here is the hendecasyllabic or Phalaecean, of which his stock example is the line,

- - | - - - | - - | - - - | - - -
Carmen Pierides struunt sorores (2581 et passim),

which he would scan as indicated. For *struunt* in this line he often substitutes *dabunt*. The line, as far as I know original with him, is perhaps a suitable motto for a work on metrics, although the Muses can have had little to do with the creation of many of his own verses. While few may have realized the fact, such a Phalaecean line may be regarded as a mixture of dactylic and iambic feet, the first five syllables forming the beginning of a dactylic hexameter while the rest is iambic.

CARMEN PIERIDES pangunt memorabile Musae;
 STRUUNT SORORES Atticae dirum nefas (2587f.).

By cutting the hendecasyllabic line in seven different ways and by adding various feet or syllables to the resulting fractions, Terentianus achieves some surprising results.

I shall give at some length his development of various meters which he regards as choriambic but which we usually treat as logaoedic. He has already divided the line,

Carmen Pierides dabunt sorores,

in two different ways. The third method of dividing it, he says, gives greater variety,

Nam cum dempsero versui SORORES,
 CARMEN PIERIDES DABUNT manebit.
 CARMEN PIERIDES DABUNT,
 Hoc metrum choriambicum est,
 Quod pars bacchiacum vocant (2604-08).

Note that he is now writing in choriambics, or as we call them second Glyconics. He goes on to explain that if you remove from this line its beginning and end,

Solum PIERIDES manet,

*Quod reddit geminum pedem
Dicunt quem choriambicon (2614-16).*

This foot may be doubled,

*Et sit versus ad hunc modum
CARMEN PIERIDES DULCISONUM DABUNT.
Duplex hic choriambus est,
Primus PIERIDES, DULCISONUM sequens (2643-46).*

But some explain this meter as a pentameter lacking its last syllable,

*Quam si restituas, pentametrum fore,
CARMEN PIERIDES DULCISONUM DABUNT,
CARMEN, PIERIDES, DULCISONUM DABITIS;
Ut versus quoque sic constet Horatii,
"MAECENAS ATAVIS EDITE REGIBUS,"
MAECENAS ATAVIS EDITE REMIGIBUS (2652-57).*

Those who believe this are, however, on the wrong track, since we can go on and add a third choriambic in the middle of the line:

Carmen Pierides dulcisonum, si mereor, dabunt (2665).

He then takes up the varieties of the Asclepiadic meters and stanzas found in Horace and Seneca in such a way that while the prevailing meter is the ordinary Asclepiadic, when he has occasion to mention any other type, he usually does so in a line of that meter.

When he comes to the strophe of the form

*"Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus
Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?
Cui flavam religas comam?" (2799-2803),*

he has more difficulty with the last two lines. To explain these he goes back to a meter which he had previously discussed, the Priapean or Glyconic Pherecratic used once or twice by Catullus. This he regards as a bastard dactylic hexameter with diaeresis always at the end of the third foot and *syllaba anceps* before the diaeresis. A line, therefore, which we would read as logaoedic,

*Hunc lucum tibi dedico consecroque Priape,*⁶

he makes into

Hunc lucum tibi dedico consecroque Priape (2755).

If this is a dactylic hexameter, it is possible to take the last two lines of the Horatian strophe, reverse them, and make another:

Cui flavam religas comam grato, Pyrrha, sub antro (2813).

Thus he maintains his theory that all meters come from either the dactylic or the iambic.

This may seem to be the height of absurdity, but he goes one better, and strangely enough, this is the only one of his derivations which seems to me to have the slightest value, even as an aid to the memory. One of the most difficult meters to keep in mind is the Galliambic used only by Catullus in his "Attis":

Super alta vectus Attis celeri rate maria.

The books will helpfully tell you that this is Ionic a minore tetrameter catalectic with frequent anacalasis, resolution, contraction, and substitution, and with regular diaeresis after the second foot. It is really quite simple. Take an ordinary hendecasyllabic line and use it twice. The first time you omit the first three syllables, the second time these same syllables and the last as well. For example, twice recite the line

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus

omitting *vivamus* the first time, and both *vivamus* and the final syllable of *amemus* the second time, and the result is the typical Galliambic:

Mea Lesbia, atque amemus, mea Lesbia atque ame (cf. 2888).

⁶ Cf. Cat., *Frag.* 2. The line is frequently quoted by the grammarians to illustrate the Priapean meter.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

ATLAS AND OLYMPUS

Aside from the common subject matter the dependence of Vergil upon Homer has often been pointed out in regard to parallel lines or phrases; as, e.g., *Aeneid* II, 250 . . . *et ruit Oceano nox*, which is a direct translation of *Odyssey* V, 294 . . . ὁρώρει δ' οὐρανόνθεν νύξ.

Of a little different nature is the dependence seen in the passage, *Aeneid* IV, 248-50:

*Cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris
piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri;
nix umeros infusa tegit.*

Here Vergil is personifying Mt. Atlas, "whose pine-covered head is ever surrounded with dark clouds and is shaken with wind and rain; snow lies spread on his shoulders." This is the very opposite of the description of Mt. Olympus in *Odyssey* VI, 43-45:

οὐτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος
δεύεται οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλνεται, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἶθρη
πέπταται ἀνέφελος.

The poet says that Olympus "is neither shaken by winds nor wet with rain, nor does snow come near it, but there is clear and cloudless sky." What Olympus is not, Atlas is. The contrast is very effective.

The parallelism is evident in vocabulary and in word-order, although the "dark clouds" appear first in Vergil's description and the "clear sky" last in Homer's. The omission of δεύεται does not disturb the sense, while the addition of *infusa* increases

the contrast. The *piniferum caput* and *umeros* are due to Vergil's personification of Atlas. The Homeric passage was evidently in his mind when he wrote these lines.

DAVID O. VOSS

TOLEDO, O.

SOME MODERN REMINISCENCES OF LUCRETIVS

I

In Book v of the *De Rerum Natura* Lucretius summarizes in a line two ancient modes of hunting employed by primitive man before the discovery of the use of metals and the employment of metal weapons. In vss. 1250 f. he writes:

*Nam fovea atque igni prius est venarier ortum
quam saepire plagis saltum canibusque ciere.*

The *New York Herald Tribune* for January 12, 1933 contained two news items which mention similar practices from times much later than those sketched by Lucretius. The first article, coming from Madison, Wis., deals with the use of fire for hunting wild game and reads, in part, as follows:

For nearly half a century farmers near the huge Horicon marsh set fire to brush to drive game into the open for shooting, said E. E. Kennedy, fire marshal. Layers of peat underlying the once famous hunting grounds were ignited as a result and burned for many months. Little property has been endangered, but choking fumes have drifted over large areas, as much as 100 miles away, causing many complaints.

This use of fire is further illustrated by a regular practice obtaining among primitive tribes today, as witness Mrs. A. H. Quiggin in her article "Hunting and Fishing, Primitive" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th edition) XI, 927:

Firing the bush or prairie is a common method of startling game, which can easily be trapped or knocked over in terrified flight. Fire is used by the Zande for elephant hunting. When a herd is discovered a large circle surrounding it is fired simultaneously, and the entrapped animals, crowded together, bewildered by the flames and blinded by the smoke, are unable to defend themselves and not a single beast escapes.

The second news item illustrative of the Lucretian passage

concerns the use of hunting-pits by American Indians. It carries the date line Walla Walla, Wash., and, in part, reads thus:

Ancient redskin hunting-pits, discovered recently by Fred A. Hartzer, Lewis Peak Forest fire warden, reveal that the scientific savages had mass production methods for getting the daily venison, he related today. The pits, hundreds of years old, are in the foothills of the Blue Mountains, long a deer runway, he said, and could accommodate 170 hidden warriors, whose feathered shafts bowled over the animals en masse as they trotted by, eliminating the long and tedious job of deer hunting on the prairies. One Indian could do the work of three, and as they never produced too much, there were no trade balances to bother about. They got enough to eat and quit.

This illustration, however, is probably more specious than real; for it is more likely that by his reference to *fovea* Lucretius had in mind the employment of the "pitfall" into which the hunted animal was enticed, to be dispatched by some means or other or to be captured alive, possibly for use in primitive warfare (Lucretius v, 1318-22). This use of pitfalls is mentioned by Xenophon in his *Cynegeticus* xi, 4:

For some beasts the hunters prepare round pits (ὀρύγματα), large and deep, leaving a column of earth in the middle. Toward evening they fasten to this column a goat which they have bound and then erect a barrier of wood around the pit, leaving no gap in it, so that the animals cannot see the trap that lies before them. Upon hearing the bleating in the night the beasts come up and prow around the barrier, and, having discovered no passage through it, they leap over it and so are caught.

Similar devices for hunting jackals and leopards are described by Oppian (*Cynegetica* iv, 212-29; *Halieutica* iii, 386-95).¹

II

The utterances made by two prominent men a few years ago are Lucretian in their tone. Not long before his death in 1929 Georges Clemenceau, former Premier of France, expressed his attitude towards the prospect of death as follows:

To dread such a state surely indicates a lack of balanced judgment, since we enter it, by no means without satisfaction, at the end of every

¹ The use of pitfalls is described by A. J. Butler, *Sport in Classic Times*: London, Ernest Benn (1930), 88-93.

day. When we have completed our daily task, do we not seek to recuperate in sleep? Death is no more and no less than sleep.²

These words are for readers of Lucretius a recollection of *De Rerum Natura* III, 919-30 (the translation is H. A. J. Munro's):

What folly! no one feels the want of himself and life at the time when mind and body are together sunk in sleep; for all we care this sleep might be everlasting, no craving whatever for ourselves then moves us. And yet by no means do these first-beginnings (*primordia*) throughout our frame wander at that time far away from their sense-bearing motions, at the moment when a man starts up from sleep and collects himself. Death therefore must be thought to concern us much less, if less there can be than what we see to be nothing; for a greater dispersion of the mass of matter follows after death, and no one wakes up, upon whom the chill cessation of life has once come.³

On the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday anniversary, March 24, 1929, Ambassador Andrew W. Mellon, then Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, reflected optimistically on his long past and his shorter future. "Life has been," he said, "and still is, both full and interesting, and I shall go, when the time comes, as a satisfied guest from life's banquet."⁴ Whether he was aware of it or not, he was almost quoting two well-remembered lines of Lucretius (III, 938 f.):

*Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis
aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?*⁵

Horace seems to have had these same lines in mind in two passages of his works. In *Sermones* I, 1, 117-19 he writes:

*Inde fit ut raro qui se vixisse beatum
dicat et, exacto contentus tempore, vita
cedat uti conviva satur reperire queamus;*

and in his *Epistulae* II, 2, 213-15:

*Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
Lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti;
tempus abire tibi est.*

² Cf. Georges Clemenceau, *In the Evening of My Thought*: Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company (1929), II, 511.

³ Cf. also IV, 916-28.

⁴ From an editorial in the *Providence Journal*, March 27, 1929.

⁵ Cf. also III, 958-62.

In this latter passage, again, Horace seems to have been influenced by Lucretius III, 961 f:

*Nunc aliena tua tamen aetate omnia mitte
aequo animoque agedum magnis concede: necessest.*

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CLASSICAL ITEMS IN ZABARA

In Joseph Zabara's *Book of Delight*, a Hebrew work written in Spain in the twelfth century, of which I have recently brought out a translation,¹ there occur sundry items of possible interest to classical students. Because this rather mediocre book is not likely to reach the attention of such students, I take this means of recording a few observations upon it.

Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Diogenes, Hippocrates, and Galen are each cited several times or mentioned as characters in anecdotes. Zabara's aim was popular and his sources were almost certainly Arabic, so that it is difficult to locate his citations in classical authors; in every case, however, the citation or the anecdote is quite in the traditional character of the authority to whom it is referred. Socrates is credited with several moral maxims, mostly commonplace enough to have been derived from any ethical teacher. His misogyny is exaggerated and forms the basis for several anecdotes (66). When a certain woman scolded Socrates roundly and then drenched him, his rejoinder was: "Surely she hath cast her lightning and hurled her thunder, and now she bringeth forth rain." The identical story is given by Diogenes Laërtius II, 36, where Xanthippe is named as the lady involved. Of Xanthippe Zabara has the following: When a disciple asked Socrates why he had married so small a woman he replied, "I have chosen the least of the evil." When he saw a

¹ Joseph ben Meir Zabara, *The Book of Delight*, translated by Moses Hadas, with an Introduction by Merriam Sherwood: New York, Columbia University Press (1932). References here are to pages of this book. Its Index lists the references to Socrates, etc.

woman hanging from a fig tree Socrates said, "Would that all the fruit of this tree were the same." In Diogenes Laërtius (vi, 52) this gallant remark is referred to the Cynic Diogenes.

The ethical maxims ascribed to Plato are also commonplace. One refers to a lover (155), another to the soul (118). Plato is made to say that he eats to live, that he does not live to eat (114); the identical remark is also ascribed to Galen (117). Diogenes Laërtius (ii, 34) credits the remark to Socrates. A treatise *On Physiognomy* is cited as Platonic (54). It has been shown that Zabara is here the victim of a double confusion and really has in mind the chapter in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*.²

At least two of the citations from Aristotle may be definitely located, but both passages are echoed several times between Aristotle and Zabara, so that it is entirely unnecessary to postulate a use of the former by the latter. Zabara's observations on the character of the Dead Sea (132) are from Aristotle's *Meteorologica* ii, 3. The proverb quoted in *Nicomachean Ethics* ix, 8, 2 that friendship is $\mu\acute{\alpha}\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ [in two bodies]³ is repeated by Zabara (156).

Greater verisimilitude in citation is noticeable in the case of Diogenes, to whom many characteristically Cynic remarks are attributed. Of these some are actually ascribed to Diogenes by Diogenes Laërtius, e.g. the story of the inscription on the entrance, "Let nothing evil enter," and the Cynic's *bon mot* (67; Diogenes Laërtius vi, 39). Several other sayings anonymous in Zabara are found in precisely the same form in Diogenes Laërtius' life of Diogenes. Such are the rebuke to the belatedly abstemious spendthrift (109; Diogenes Laërtius vi, 50), the warning to a harlot's child that indiscriminate pelting might involve patricide (103; Diogenes Laërtius vi, 62), and the selection

² Cf. Israel Davidson, *Sepher Shaashuim*: New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1914), lxxii f.

³ In an old collection of Greek quotations, G. H. Opsimathes, $\Gamma\text{N}\Omega\text{M}\text{A}\text{I}$: Leipzig, Weigel (1884), 19, I find the complete proverb, as given literally by Zabara, cited, without specific reference, from Aristotle: $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$. *Eudemian Ethics* 1240b9 has the same form as *Nicomachean Ethics*.

of the target as the safest spot when an amateur was practising archery (103; Diogenes Laërtius vi, 67).

Zabara's chief interest is in medicine, and his references to Hippocrates and Galen are consequently quite numerous. Hippocrates' views on diet are correctly reported in Zabara's chapter on the Therapy of Diet (111-25). In common with contemporary Christian and Moslem physicians Zabara was most impressed with that element in Galen's teaching which looks upon the structure and function of the human body as evidence for the wisdom and goodness of God. The theological view of medicine is especially apparent in Zabara's *Seats of the Soul* (167-78). One citation from Hippocrates I have found tantalizing because it looks so easy to locate. In a context discouraging a meat diet Zabara quotes Hippocrates as follows (120): "Guard ye from eating flesh and make not your bellies burial places for cattle." Pseudo-Longinus *On the Sublime* III, 2 criticizes a similar trope as used by Gorgias of Leontini; the commentators on Longinus cite numerous parallels from Greek and Roman writers, but none from Hippocrates. Littré's copious Index to his edition of Hippocrates has also failed me.

Two other points may be mentioned. Zabara's full version of the story of the Widow of Ephesus (67-69) is rather closer to Petronius than other mediaeval versions.⁴ Further, the form of Zabara's book is modeled after the Arabic *Maqama*, which is a characteristic Semitic form an early type of which may have furnished a model for the satires of Menippus of Gadara.⁵

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ON THE USE OF *AUT*

The conventional explanation of the use of the conjunctions *aut* and *vel* is that the use of *aut* indicates sharp opposition between the alternatives presented, as *life or death*, where the choice

⁴ Cf. my paper, "Oriental Elements in Petronius," *Am. Jour. Phil.* I, (1929), 378-85.

⁵ Cf. my "Gadarenes in Pagan Literature," *Class. Weekly* xxv (1931), 25-30.

of one alternative automatically excludes the other, but that where *vel* is used the choice is a matter of indifference.

This, however, fails to explain many instances of *aut* in Classic authors, e.g. Vergil, *Georgics* I, 331-33:

*Ille flagranti
aut Athon aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo
deicit.*

There is clearly no sharp opposition or mutual exclusiveness here, nor is there in Horace, *Epode* II, 53-60, where *aut* and *vel* are used with no clearly marked difference.

A reference to some of the most frequently used American Latin grammars shows that they, unfortunately, do not cover this subject with adequate clarity and completeness. Bennett, e.g., (§342) merely states that "*aut* must be used" when the alternatives are mutually exclusive, while Elmer (§346) says that "*aut* often excludes one or the other alternative." The Gildersleeve-Lodge grammar (§493) goes farther, adding to the notion of absolute exclusion the use of *aut* as a "corrective," in the sense of "or at least, at most, rather." But it is clear that none of these accounts for such uses as that illustrated from Vergil and Horace. Lane's *Latin Grammar* (§1668) gives us the first clue to a proper appreciation of the word, remarking that "sometimes *aut* connects kindred ideas."

This usage seems to me of sufficient frequency and importance to justify more adequate recognition. I have collected all the instances of *aut* and *vel* in Book I of the *Tusculan Disputations*, as being a representative piece of Ciceronian Latin prose. *Aut* occurs three or more times as frequently as *vel*, and in a variety of uses.

The use of clear-cut exclusion, as in *Necesse est enim sit alterum de duobus, ut AUT sensus omnino omnes mors auferat, AUT in alium quendam locum ex his locis morte migretur* (97).

The corrective use, as in *mortem, in qua AUT summum bonum AUT nullum malum esse cognovimus* (110).

But fully, if not more than, half the occurrences of *aut* are not readily classified under either of these heads. For example, *non*

enim ambrosia deos AUT *nectare* AUT *Iuventate pocula ministrante laetari arbitror* (65); *sed quid ego Socratem* AUT *Theramenem commemoro* (100)? *ubi sunt ergo ii quos miseros dicis* AUT *quem locum incolunt* (11)? In fact, it would be difficult to find two verbal expressions more nearly synonymous than *ubi sunt?* and *quem locum incolunt?* and yet it is an *aut* which connects these equivalent ideas.

Another typical instance: *Itaque saepe* AUT *cogitatione* AUT *aliqua vi morbi impediti apertis atque integris oculis et auribus nec videmus nec audimus* (46).

In the sentence, *Nam si cor* AUT *sanguis* AUT *cerebrum est animus, certe, quoniam est corpus, interibit cum reliquo corpore* (24), the choice among the suggested possibilities is a matter of the most complete indifference; for the same conclusion follows in any case.

We should realize, therefore, that *aut* is far from limited to the exclusive or corrective use. Sometimes it is scarcely, if at all, to be distinguished from *vel*; often it introduces an additional, but in no true sense a contrasting, element. Perhaps the translator ought to avail himself of that current monstrosity "and/or."¹

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INTERESTING BITS FROM LATIN WILLS

In reading certain texts primarily for the forthcoming *Mediaeval Latin Dictionary*, one discovers that wills contain much of human interest. Strip away the formalities, the directions for burial, and you find strange legacies, whims, and unexpected revelations. Canon and clerk, squire and mercer are leveled to a common earthy status, but not in the sense that was so dramatically expressed by James Shirley:

Sceptre and crown must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade.

¹ The best treatment of the subject with which I am familiar is found in Hermann Menge's *Repetitorium der Lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik*²: Wolfenbüttel, Verlag von Julius Zwißler (1905), §§503, 8; 520; and 522, 1.

Knights display immense gusto in bequeathing cloaks, farm implements, goblets studded with jewels, heirlooms, spoons, each article being minutely described.

William de Escryk, a cleric of the fifteenth century, as a last gesture of generosity, waives two debts:

Dimitto ei domino Reginaldo et Beatrici, sorori meae, totum debitum in quo mihi tenentur.

Another cleric of the same period, Robert Brayton, displays, like Pliny the Younger, interest in dowries for brides:

Decem honestis pauperibus virginibus equaliter . . . ad maritagia sua decem marcas.

To his tenants he remits a quarter's rent, provided they pray for his soul. His books on real estate he leaves to a brother, but his books on religion are to be sold:

Thome Brayton omnes libros meos legem terrae tangentes; omnesque libros ecclesiasticos meos volo vendi.

John Hovyngham, Archdeacon of Durham, who died early in the fifteenth century, had more of a conscience than some of the Renaissance humanists complained of by Petrarch. He apologizes for keeping a book an unconscionable time:

Magistro Willelmo Bryght . . . unam zonam deauratam cum corpore viridi . . . ut remittat mihi de offensa, ex eo quod contra voluntatem suam tenui penes me librum suum, quod intitlatur Gorham, copiandum.

An interesting literary item. Robert Helierd, armiger, of Scaldby in Yorkshire, makes a notable bequest in his will dated 1428:

Lego domino Roberto Hilton meum librum gallicum de Romanc' Ros' (Le Roman de la Rose).

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Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Columbia, Missouri. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*: Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press (for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens) (1931). Pp. xvii+567. \$7.50.

The author of this splendid quarto volume has long enjoyed an enviable reputation as an authority in the field of classical architecture and the kindred departments of sculpture and topography. With his *Archons* he has established himself also as an authority in Greek epigraphy and Greek chronology. Literally hundreds of Greek inscriptions have been examined and utilized, together with a mastery of a mass of Egyptian papyri of the Hellenistic period, in order to establish in a form approaching finality, with finally correct dates and correct interpretations, the chronology of the records of Hellenistic Athens now accessible to students of this interesting period of ancient history. The Athenian calendar, from the beginning of the Peloponnesian War to Roman times, with full discussion and proper evaluation of the calendars of Meton, Calippus, and Hipparchus, in the light of epigraphic material at hand, receives new and enlightened treatment, far in advance of anything that we have hitherto known.

This μέγα βιβλίον is no μέγα κακόν. It is not even formidable, as it seems at first sight. For it is composed in a style of remarkable clarity; and its usability is facilitated and enhanced not only by carefully compiled indices but also by extensive and detailed tables. The first of these is a "Chronological-Political-Cultural" table covering Greek and contemporary history from 2780 B.C.

(Egypt) to A.D. 284 (Diocletian). Another gives the (almost) complete list of Athenian Archons with the secretaries and the demes, together with the Delphic archons, as far as known, from 307/6 to 88/7, and the Delian calendar and its archons. For the study of Greece in Hellenistic times Dinsmoor's book is now a *sine qua non*.

"The problem of the chronology of Hellenistic Athens," Dr. Dinsmoor notes in his Preface, "was first placed on a scientific basis by W. S. Ferguson . . . and it has long been obvious that a chance discovery might cause drastic revisions and necessitate extensive readjustments in the whole system of [Ferguson's] cycles." "The present volume is the result of such a chance discovery." The author realizes, too, the possibility that epigraphic discoveries in the course of our excavation of the Agora now in progress may modify or even demolish almost any portion of the chronological structure which he and other specialists in this field have so splendidly reared.

Attention may be called to two gratifying recent reviews of Dinsmoor's book by specialists in the same field, viz. Professor Meritt in *Am. Jour. Phil.* LIII (1932), 88-90 and Professor West in *Am. Jour. Arch.* xxxvi (1932), 206 f.

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CYRIL E. ROBINSON, *A History of the Roman Republic*: New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company (1932). Pp. xi + 471. \$3.00.

As the title indicates, this volume covers the history of the Roman Republic down to the death of Julius Caesar. To this the author has added an epilogue (Chapter XXI) giving a brief sketch of the transition to the Empire. The book is made more useful by the addition of fourteen maps and plans, which are clear but rather lacking in detail, a chronological synopsis of constitutional and judicial developments (pp. 465-466), and a sadly inadequate index. Racial questions and questions of topography are very briefly treated in the first chapter. No effort is made to

solve the enigma of the Etruscans (p. 10). Matters of constitutional and legal development are rather scantily handled. Very little attention is paid to social and literary development. The treatment of the literary history of Rome leaves much to be desired. For instance, on page 144 Robinson says: "It was, however, a telling symptom of the extreme reverence felt for the literary pre-eminence of Greece, that his [Fabius Pictor's] annals were actually compiled in the Greek tongue." Pictor wrote his history of Rome in Greek not so much because of any "extreme reverence" for Greek but because Latin prose had not been developed at that time into a literary vehicle. If one were to write a history at all it had to be either in the colloquial Latin of the marketplace or else in Greek. Pictor chose the latter alternative. The *fabula praetexta*, one of the few original Latin contributions to literature, deserves more discussion than the mere footnote on page 223. It is hardly true (p. 432) that "his [Varro's] main interest, however, was in history." Varro's encyclopaedic writings cover practically every field of Roman knowledge, and if any special field was of greater interest to him than any other it was apparently Roman antiquities.

The excellence of this book lies in the easy and clear flow of the narrative portions. Where the author is dealing with stirring subjects like the Punic Wars or the conflicts of the later republic, he tells his story simply and well, and most of the book is devoted to such narrative. Excellent character sketches abound; as, for instance, his descriptions of Hannibal (pp. 109-110), of the Elder Scipio (p. 125), and his sympathetic account of Gaius Gracchus (pp. 243-257). The sketch of Julius Caesar (pp. 353-355) is not so adequate. I find myself in strong disagreement with such a statement as this: "The mere fact that ten years of his prime were to be spent on a more or less gratuitous campaign of conquest." The Gallic campaign was not a "gratuitous" expedition on the part of Caesar. With his usual clarity of vision he came to see that pre-eminence in Rome could not be obtained without the support of a conquering army. Nothing in his whole

career so clearly shows the man's determination to dominate Rome as his willingness to take ten years of exile in the middle of his life to make himself master of a conquering army.

Chapter xx, which immediately precedes the epilogue, is an excellent account of Roman life and character. It contains a discussion of women, freedmen, and mystery religions; of literature, architecture, and, finally, an analysis of the Roman character itself. The book would have been improved if more space could have been devoted to chapters of this character.

The genesis of this book is not Robinson's desire to contribute to the knowledge of Roman history. The book owes its origin to the desire of the publisher to have a complete series of handbooks to which Robinson has already contributed a history of England and a history of Greece. In such a class this book ranks high. It is well written and accurate.

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T. V. SMITH, *Philosophers in Hades*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1932). Pp. xvi + 223. \$1.

While Paul Shorey was giving the final touches to his masterpiece *What Plato Said*, another professor at the University of Chicago, following Lucian *longo intervallo*, was writing a series of dialogues which he has called *Philosophers in Hades*. In this book Socrates, Plato, Zeno, Heraclitus, Thales, Parmenides, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Pythagoras, Thrasymachus, Aristotle, and Epicurus are made to present the more obvious tenets of their philosophies in a manner which is not altogether without humor. The book, however, can hardly be said to reach the ultimate in the divine art of foolery and fooling. It seems likely that it will be popular with, and helpful to, students who are striving for a pass grade in the history of philosophy, if the examiner does not ask too searching questions about Stoicism and Heraclitus. There is no doubt that the dialogue which presents three professors of the University of Chicago as interlocutors will elicit many a chuckle and chortle at the Quadrangle Club. But those of us who

are fond of hearing Shailer Mathews preach and who like to read the books of Thornton Wilder resent it just a little that our idols have been treated with so little reverence. If Professor T. V. Smith who wrote the book ever sees this review he will probably quote that wise saying of Izaak Walton: "If thou art a severe, sour-complexioned man, I here disallow thee to be a competent judge."

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PAUL SHOREY, *What Plato Said*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1933). Pp. vii + 686. \$5.

In *What Plato Said* Professor Shorey undertakes to give an account of all fields of Platonic criticism. After a brief review of Plato's life and a few statements regarding his philosophy in general, he analyzes each dialogue individually, summarizing its contents and discussing its authenticity and chronology. He provides comprehensive bibliographies for each of the dialogues and gives many notes expanding his statements in the text. Throughout he makes frequent page references to the dialogues, though actual quotations are few, due to necessary economy of space in writing so large a work.

The exposition of Plato's philosophy is the most distinctive element in the book. In some respects Plato is portrayed as more of a literary artist than a philosopher. His great richness of expression and poetic imagery can be satisfactorily appreciated only by sympathetic interpretation, and there is no place whatsoever for literal-mindedness and over-ingeniousness in seeing broad implications in statements which Plato intended only as imaginative expressions of his views. For Shorey there is no objective standard by which Plato's writings can be classified as to their philosophical significance. Each dialogue must be considered as an organic whole in itself and must be evaluated on its intrinsic merits.

In as far as the author points out the subjectivism that is necessarily inherent in any interpretation of Plato, he reveals a

fundamental fact. Perhaps no one could ever grasp all the ideas expressed in Plato, and each reader selects some certain aspect which he tends to overemphasize to the exclusion of other equally important elements. But as he proceeds, Shorey seems to abandon his own dictum and ascribes to Plato a definite philosophical system, to which he reconciles all the Platonic dialogues.

What the "Unity of Plato's Thought" is is not clearly expressed by the author. Presumably, it is a system of beliefs pertaining to ethics, epistemology, psychology, and metaphysics which pervades all Platonic writings. As it is worked out, however, in the pages of *What Plato Said*, it seems to be a unity of form rather than of content. Various ideas are found repeatedly in the dialogues, and they are used as evidence of the permanence of Plato's thought. The insufficiency of chronological unity as a standard of Plato's beliefs lies in its inability to correlate ideas with each other; and when, especially in metaphysics, Plato persists in presenting conflicting views, a strict application of the chronological principle would point to a great chaos in Plato's own mind.

Since Shorey, by his original attitude toward Plato, has denied the possibility of any objective standard of Plato's actual beliefs, he cannot choose between conflicting statements, if both sides are common in several dialogues. He must resort to the position that neither side is meant literally, but each is presented as a literary and figurative expansion of some simpler truth. Now it happens that in ethics there are comparatively few contradictions in Plato, but in metaphysics there are many. Consequently Plato's ethical system becomes complete and significant, while his metaphysics is much impoverished, most of his statements about reality being reduced to poetical exaggerations. The extremity of Shorey's position is shown by his denial of metaphysical significance to any of the "late" dialogues. It is shown by his denial that to Plato logic, metaphysics, and ethics, as developed in the *Philebus* and *Sophist*, were united into one organic whole. The Ideas themselves, which Shorey accepts as Plato's own belief, have little actual meaning. At one time they are a

noumenal order, quite unknown to us; at another time they include all mental concepts in an hypostatized form.

One cannot help feeling that Shorey has involved himself in inconsistency in trying to find a unified system in a philosopher whose works he admits to be poetical expressions. His portrayal of Plato the artist is excellent; his reconstruction of Plato's philosophy leaves out as uncritical many of the most suggestive and significant Platonic doctrines. He sacrifices organicity to life-long consistency in the study of a man who above all others saw cosmic significance in even the smallest object and was interested above all in the interrelation and integration of the different aspects of human life.

As the author himself realizes, the best way to discover the spirit of Plato's writings is to read them directly. No commentary can present more than a narrow perspective of true Platonism. Professor Shorey's book, though presenting many interesting interpretations and successfully vivifying Plato's writings, lacks much of being a definitive treatment of Plato's philosophy.

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FREDERIC G. KENYON, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1932). Pp. vii + 136. \$1.50.

This is an interesting and valuable little book, containing much material that is new or not easily accessible. The Preface states that one of the main objects of the volume is to show the bearings of the material and form of books on literary history and criticism. Another is to describe the ancient book. These objects are achieved. The value of the volume is enhanced by nine illustrations.

The first chapter is on the use of books in Greece. Kenyon argues convincingly and at length for the existence of books and writing in the time of Homer. As Kenyon is not familiar with my own arguments in favor of this view, based on different evi-

dence,¹ his discussion is welcome confirmation. The plausible suggestion is made and supported that the division of the Homeric poems into books was made, not in the Alexandrian age as usually assumed, but earlier.

While the evidence is meager, we can well accept Kenyon's conclusion that at the end of the fifth century books were plentiful and cheap but that the habit of reading was not firmly established until the time of Aristotle, with whom "the Greek world passed from oral instruction to the habit of reading" (p. 25).

An interesting discussion gives at least a glimpse of the extent of the lost Greek literature. Another point of interest is that reading in Egypt was most extensive during the time when the Roman Empire reached its highest point, in the second and third centuries.

The second chapter concerns itself with the papyrus roll. Besides the facts found in all handbooks some interesting data are given about the dimensions of rolls. They vary in height from two to thirteen inches. In length when unrolled they rarely, if ever, exceed 35 feet. Columns are normally two to three inches wide, contain 18 to 25 letters to the line, and 25 to 45 lines to a column. A significant comment reads: "It is also clear that conjectures which assume a fixed number of lines to a column, or of letters to a line, are not to be depended on when dealing with papyri" (p. 57).

The third chapter, on books and reading at Rome, is the shortest and decidedly the weakest, giving very little that is new. Although the first paragraph deals with the origin of writing in Italy, nothing is said about the Marsiliana inscription of 700 B.C. or about the early Roman inscriptions. To argue for the use of writing in Rome from the references to the Servian census in Livy is rather absurd, when we have inscriptions of the period.

The last chapter, on vellum and the codex, again adduces new facts of importance. Kenyon brings together a surprising amount

¹ *Am. Jour. Arch.* xxxi (1927), 326-28; cf. *Ancient Writing and Its Influence*: New York, Longmans Green and Co. (1932), 20-22.

of material about papyrus codices, a transitional phase between papyrus rolls and parchment codices. Kenyon concludes that in the third century pagan works were still generally written on rolls, while for Christian works the codex was becoming the popular form. Most interesting is the recent discovery in Egypt of a number of Christian papyrus codices of the second century. But I cannot agree with Kenyon that parchment was for some time during the early Empire regarded as inferior. Furthermore Kenyon does not take into account that the codex was probably of Roman origin and that the unusual tenacity of papyrus in Egypt (from which most of our evidence comes) was due to that country's being the source of supply of papyrus. Tentatively, on the basis of Kenyon's new material, I should outline the history of the book as follows: In the first century the parchment codex is developed at Rome out of the tablets (usually of waxed wood but sometimes of parchment). At first this form is used only for special purposes. As its advantages are realized, attempts are made to use the cheaper and more familiar papyrus in the new codex form, especially in Egypt. But eventually parchment is found more suitable and triumphs over papyrus, even in Egypt. Thus Kenyon's statement that "in considering the textual history of a pagan author the codex barely comes into consideration for the third century" (p. 111) may not be as true for Western Europe as for Egypt. By the fourth century, Kenyon concedes, the parchment codex is the usual form of the book.

Several of Kenyon's statements seem rather questionable. Glue was not always used or necessary in making sheets of papyrus, as fresh papyrus strips can be made to stick together merely by moistening. Surely there is some mistake about the statement on page 66 that the separation of words never became general until after the invention of printing. One does not have to assume that two people are related just because their handwriting is similar (p. 69). On page 79 the reference to Suetonius is a slip for Plutarch. Kenyon's inference (p. 80) from the symmetrical arrangement of the Greek and Latin libraries of Pollio and Augustus that the bulk of Latin literature was in some measure equal to

that of Greek is unsound: naturally the Romans had available a greater percentage of their own literature than that of Greece. Presumably Kenyon has evidence for his statement (pp. 101, 105) that parchment sheets were folded over several times before cutting, like the sheets of our books, but I suppose the general view is that sheets were folded once only and placed one within the other. The statement that the early printers "modelled themselves on the Carolingian manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries" (p. 116) is, I believe, without foundation.

B. L. ULLMAN

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EDITH HAMILTON, *The Roman Way*: New York, W. W. Norton (1932). Pp. x + 281. \$3.

Though based throughout on ancient authors, as listed in an Index of Passages with chronological table, the book suggests the first impressions of a cultivated, discerning mind from much rapid reading, including translations, rather than seasoned scholarship. It abounds in reckless statements, most often in half-truths marked by exaggeration, sweeping negatives, bold assumptions as to things we cannot know, especially the thoughts of individuals. If the author said less she would say more. I offer some of her pronouncements with my own italics and parenthetical antidotes.

"Plautus' women . . . were *never* drawn from Greek originals" (p. 37). (The Greek originals are largely lost.) Plautus and Terence owed "much more to their own selves" than "to their Greek originals" (p. 63). (Their prologues refute this.) "The idea that men's <sexual> pleasures, too, should be curtailed *never* entered the women's minds" (p. 37). (On pp. 29 f. is a translation from the *Mercator*, in which the wife abuses her husband for unfaithfulness.) In Roman comedy "is the *very first* appearance upon the world's stage of . . . the Mother." "The Mother, capitalized, was foreign to Greek ideas" (pp. 26 f.). (What of Orestes' remorse, Hecuba, Andromache? Cf. Herod. v, 92; Lys. I, 6 f., 9; Xen., *Mem.* II, 2). "In *every* play the slave

is the chief personage" (p. 42). (The *Phormio* and *Curculio* are well named from their parasites.) "There is *no suggestion* of distinction or charm [the *Rudens*?] . . . *no wit or deft malice* [the *Mostellaria*?] in Plautus" (p. 45). "Gallantry is *undreamed of* in Roman comedy" (p. 44). (The young husband's delicacy in the *Hecyra*?) As contrasted with Terence, "Plautus had to hold the attention of a holiday crowd . . . as he says in *many* a prologue, against such competitors as chattering women and crying babies" (p. 61). (A generalization from *Poenulus* 28-35 only; Plautus mentions distractions in one out of nine prologues, Terence in two out of six, *Phormio* and *Hecyra*. The reasoning is blurred on pp. 61 f.) In the time of the First Triumvirate "the old, respected political forms were *strictly* adhered to" (p. 69). (This in spite of the illegal acts of 59 B.C. and the so-called consulship of "Julius and Caesar.") Cicero's letters are a "disappointment," "nearly always very dull." "There is *never the least* sign of interest in his surroundings" (pp. 87 f.). His treatises are "*never* read, the essays on old age and friendship make us impatient with their commonplaces. *Nothing* that he wrote lives for us except some of the orations." (?) "Heroism and great deeds in battle and a glorious death are all ideas Greek literature fights shy of" (p. 226). (Hector's, "The one best omen is to fight for one's country." The epitaphioi of Pericles, Lysias, Demosthenes, etc., Plato's *Menexenus*.) The Greeks "practically ignored" the passion of love as a subject for literature (p. 222). (Sappho, Mimnermus, Euripides' *Hippolytus*, Theocritus, the Greek Anthology.) "Aeneas and Dido are . . . the hero and heroine of our *very first* romance" (p. 223). (Xen. *Cyr.* v-vii; Apoll. Rhod., *Arg.* iii and Catull. lxiv in the Theseus-Ariadne episode, both Vergil's models; add Theoc. ii.) "It never entered his [Horace's] mind that there was anything objectionable in a show of devotion for the purpose of getting money from a man" (p. 179). (*Epistles* i, 7.) Transcendent thoughts "were *never for a moment* his. He knew *nothing* about mystic heights as a man" or "as a poet" (pp. 166 f.). (In *Epist.* ii, 2, 143 f., after Plato, *Phaedo* 61A, he seeks the rhythms and measures of the higher life as transcending those of lyric verse. In *Epist.* i, 6

init. and elsewhere he echoes the sublimity of Lucretius.) Slaves at Rome were "so casually mistreated and murdered" "that their condition *never* drew a passing thought from even the very best, a man like Horace" (p. 187). (Cicero's three letters in one day to his ex-slave Tiro in affectionate concern for his health. Tibullus II, 6, 25 f.: "Hope even consoles the man bound with strong fetters. The irons clank on his legs but he sings at his work." Cf. I, 7, 41 f. Horace commends a man as kindly neighbor, attractive host, chummy with his wife, indulgent to his slaves and not furious if they tap his wine [*Epist.* II, 2, 132-34]. Note the camaraderie toward slaves of *Carm.* I, 38, 6-8 and *Epist.* I, 14. By one punctuation of vss. 39 f. in the latter, his neighbors smile at him as he works in the field with his slaves. Finally, what of Horace's admirable loyalty to his own father, the ex-slave?)

I have extended this review as a graphic protest against this irresponsible style of writing. There is a chivalry due dead authors and living general readers. The very merits of such a book, written by an able, talented writer and highly recommended, aggravate the danger in its careless generalizations. (Cf. Arist., *Poet.* 1453a, 7-10.)

CLYDE MURLEY

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W. G. WADDELL, *The Lighter Side of the Greek Papyri: A Talk to the St. Andrew's Society, Cairo, Egypt.* C. F. Cutter, Low Fell, England. 1932. Pp. 21.

This little pamphlet is a selection from eighty papyrus documents (some of which are translated in full) of passages illustrating the human side of the life depicted in them. There is nothing new. All the examples have long been known and frequently quoted and the fact that the article makes interesting reading is a testimony rather to the inherent interest of the papyri than to any novelty in the treatment of the author. But the members of the St. Andrew's Society must have found it an amusing speech and that, after all, was the reason for its being written.

CASPER J. KRAEMER, JR.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

CARL DARLING BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1933). Pp. xvi + 405. \$5.00.

This is a welcome volume. There has been nothing in English covering this field, so far as I am aware, since King and Cookson's *Sounds and Inflexions in Greek and Latin* (1888) and Victor Henry's *Short Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (translated by R. T. Elliott, 1890); and both these are long since out of date. The only comparable treatise of recent date is the work of Meillet and Vendryes entitled *Traité de Grammaire Comparée des Langues Classiques*, which appeared in 1924. We know in advance that any treatise by Professor Buck will be clear in arrangement, sane in treatment, free from advocacy of questionable views; and we are not disappointed here.

The volume contains an account of the Indo-European family of languages (1-15), outlines of the external history of Greek and its dialects (15-23), and of Latin and the Italic dialects (23-30); a section on general features of linguistic history (30-67; extremely valuable to the student, as an introduction to the general subject); the Greek and Latin alphabets (68-78), the development of the vowels and diphthongs in Greek and Latin (78-117) and of the consonants (117-58), the changes in external combination (158-61), and the accent (161-67). Then follows a treatment of inflection: the parts of speech (168 f.), declension of nouns (169-208) and of adjectives and participles (208-13), comparison of adjectives (213-16), the pronouns (216-29), the numerals (229-37), and the verbs (237-310). The chapter on word formation includes derivation of nouns and adjectives (311-48), the formation of adverbs (348-52), and composition (352-63). References to secondary literature are wisely relegated to a bibliographical appendix (364-72), where he cites the articles containing other scholars' views which he rejects. Indexes of Greek and Latin words (373-405) conclude the volume.

Buck has stated in his preface that the treatment of Greek and Latin together in one volume is justified only by the close cultural relations of the two peoples and their joint influence upon

later times, so that the two languages interest the same group of scholars. He has also emphasized the fact that he attempts to present the substantial results of comparative linguistics, without entering upon matters which are debatable. It is quite true that he has declined to pronounce on many smaller points; but the user of the book will be gratified at finding that he has expressed his own independent judgments not infrequently, as on the significance of *oe* in *foedus*, *Poenus*, *poena* and the like, and of *e* in *pomerium* (87 f.), of the pronunciation of the varying *i/u* in *optumus optimus* (101 f.), and of the *gn* in *dignus*, etc. (147), and on numerous other matters.

If one were to make a criticism of general import, however, it would be that the space at the author's disposal was not adequate for the proper presentation of the subject. (Meillet and Vendryes had half again as much space, and even they are unduly brief on many details.) Thus the account of anaptyxis in Latin (98) is insufficient for the needs of the student; the few lines given to the subject state that it occurs regularly in *-cl-* and *-bl-*, and sometimes in borrowed words. In point of fact, anaptyxis is found regularly also in *-stl-* and commonly in *-pl-* and *-gl-*; and some additional examples in words taken from Greek would be worth while, such as Plautine *dracuma*, *tecina*, *guminasium*, *Alcumēna*. The account of vowel weakening — a phenomenon of extreme importance for the understanding of Latin — is compressed into a trifle over three pages (100-03); and though the compression is skillfully done, the student may easily run into problems which he cannot answer by consultation of the text: what is the reason for the second *u* in *fulguris* and for the *u* in *euntem*? Though the latter question is answered on page 83 (§82, 3), there is no cross-reference, and the proper place for the phenomenon is under Vowel Weakening. Under Contraction of Vowels in Latin (97 f.) the rather important formulation that *-ie-* contracted to *-ī-* unless the *i* was in the initial syllable or the *e* was in a closed syllable, is not given; this is the only sound basis for the vocative of the type *filī* from **filie*, for the isolated word *tībīcen* from **tībiecen* (still older **tībio-can*), and for the *-ī-* in

many forms of the fourth conjugation, in the denominative verbs (thus *finis* from **finiesi*). The Latin rhotacism, whose products continually stare the student in the face, seems to me to deserve rather more detail of treatment than it receives (132 f.).

Just a few more points: Buck calls G a differentiated form of C, put into the alphabet in the position of the Greek Z (74); he rejects by implication the rather cogent argument of the late Professor Hempl that G was actually a form of Greek Z, which, being out of employment, was available for a new use when the Romans felt the need of discriminating graphically between the two values of C. He explains the single *l* in *milia* as a late development (155); but this leaves no basis on which to explain the single *l* in *vilicus* in comparison with the double *l* of *villa*. He follows the common connection of *mille* and *χέλιοι* with Sanskrit *saháśram* (232, where it is misaccented *sáhasra-*), dividing the word *sa-hasra-* instead of *sahas-ra-* (with Brugmann, after Grimm), which seems to me obviously better, though it makes connection with the Latin and Greek words almost impossible phonologically. The placing of Umb. *tuplak* (which would be *duplac* in the Latin alphabet) after *triplex* (234) is confusing, since the Umbrian word means "double" and not "triple," but the graphic identity of the initial letters conveys a (false) impression of identity of the first parts of the words as well as of the second. Derivation of the final sounds of *quater* after *ter* (236) seems to me to reverse the true relation; numerals more commonly follow the analogy of succeeding than of preceding numerals (though this is not without exception), and *quater* can be derived with perfect regularity of phonetic process from **quatrús*, a form for which Avestan gives warrant. The adverbial ending *-ter* is taken (351) as starting from *inter*, *practer*, etc.; but the start from *aliter*, doublet form of (nom.) *alter*, with Leumann (in Stolz-Schmalz, *Lat. Gr.*,⁸ §213, after Skutsch), seems to me much more plausible.

But these points of criticism are of little weight against the great value of the volume, which has long been needed by classical scholars. In conclusion, I call attention to the excellent pages on

Semantics (48-56), to those on Ablaut (106-17), and especially to the fact that Professor Buck still believes firmly in the initial stress-accent of primitive Italic (371), without which — *pace* certain foreign scholars — it is virtually impossible to understand the phonetic developments of the Latin vowels.

ROLAND G. KENT

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Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorrance S. White of the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

A New Latin Club Game

As a member of the program committee for the Cornell College Latin Club for the February meeting I was assigned the task of conducting the entertainment for the evening. I found no game which I considered interesting and at the same time adaptable for use in a parlor without the necessity of having some kind of mimeographed sheets. My time being limited, I decided to take interesting parts of various games I had read and combine them with parts of common games, and finally I got the game described below which seemed to give a very enjoyable half-hour's entertainment.

Each member of the club was provided with a slip of paper, pencil, and a Latin word. Each person was to make some representation of the word, using an English word or words which resembled the Latin word in sound. For example, the word *bellum* could be given by drawing a picture of a bell and giving +21 +13, 21 meaning the twenty-first letter of the alphabet (u) and 13 the thirteenth letter (m). The word *ara* could be represented by the statement, "The second person, present form of the English verb, to be, —5 +1." After each person had completed his word, his paper was passed to his neighbor and on the bottom the person wrote his guess as to what word was represented. The papers were folded up and again passed, so that each went clear around the circle and returned to its originator. Then the

persons in turn told what word they had represented and read the answers given. When the correct answer was read, many of the guessed answers appeared ridiculous.

The following list of words is given as representative of many more which lend themselves to this game:

Ante, arma, autem, bonus, campus, Catiline, Cornelius, cur, forte, Homer, jam, manus, minor, nomen, par, porto, post, sane, sed, sine, sum, and tot.

ARTHUR H. MAYNARD

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Latin Notebooks Again

How to make the notebook function properly in Latin work seems to be one of the more pressing problems and many inquiries are received about them. Miss Evelyn M. Neese of the Maquoketa (Iowa) High School submits some suggestions which may be helpful. She assigned an A B C notebook to her first-year class as a six weeks' project. The notebook had to be entirely in Latin with short descriptive sentences about pictures representing each letter. E. g. *A est pro aqua. Aqua vitae necessaria est.* To keep the books as free as possible from errors and red penciling she required the pupils to show their Latin sentences before writing them in the notebook. "The results were amazingly original. One girl illustrated her notebook throughout with original drawings. Another decided to tell the story of one family, thus providing unity. They searched diligently for pictures to represent Q and V. And when I complimented the class on their good work and suggested that they must have enjoyed making the notebooks because the notebooks themselves reflected that, they responded almost unanimously that 'it was fun.' "

A six weeks' project for the second year class was to write long diaries or accounts of the everyday Roman boy or girl. They were reading about Roman family life at that particular time, Miss Neese writes, and so obtained many suggestions from their own textbook. "Many of them dug eagerly into reference books, how-

ever, and tried to make their tales accurate. On the last day before Christmas vacation they read their papers to the class and a good time was had by all."

Miss Neese states her conviction that the keeping of a Latin notebook should be an individual matter and that "the amount of time to be put on them depends upon the inclinations of the pupil." That is, she requires no more than a reasonable minimum from those who are not particularly interested.

In conclusion Miss Neese writes: "The first semester my beginners usually collect a prodigious amount of ads and other references to Latin or Greek. These I correct occasionally while they are getting started, but after the first six weeks I practically leave them to their own devices. During the first semester, after the notebooks are well under way, I assign the bulletin board to a different pupil each day. He then selects interesting pages from his notebook for exhibition. This rather encourages them to search for new and unusual material."

Origin of O. K.

Often I have heard inquiries concerning the origin of our expression "O.K.," but never have I heard any explanation for its use. While glancing through a book recently, merely by chance I read the following statement, which might prove of interest to some of your readers. I have not verified the authenticity of the statement. It is found in the editor's preface to *When I Was a Boy in Greece*, by George Demetrios (Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Co., Boston, 1913), page five.

I gave him the final manuscript to see if I had been faithful to my task, and after rereading it, the boy pronounced it "ὄλα καλά." The first letters of the two words have been used from time immemorial by Greek teachers to mark the deserving themes of their pupils, and we who so generally write "O.K." to denote accuracy assign many fanciful reasons for the origin of the expression, not knowing that it is really classic.

ROBERT C. McCLELLAND

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How to Increase the Latin Enrollment

When a high school enrolling 1300 pupils numbers some 600 in the department of Latin, most teachers would like to know something about the magic wand that accomplishes this feat. Mary Boxwell, in a paper read at the Fifteenth Annual Classical Conference at Iowa City, February 10, 1933, explained the various means by which the four Latin teachers, including herself, at the Fort Dodge high school endeavor to create a classical atmosphere in their high school and thus attract so large a proportion of pupils into the Latin department.

Miss Boxwell emphasized her belief that the most important factor of all is teachers possessing a good background, who are well-informed, alert, and deeply interested in Latin. Too often, she says, Latin is taught by "teachers of other subjects who are not well prepared in Latin, and, worse yet, are not even interested." She also emphasized the importance of hearty coöperation between the Latin teachers and teachers in other departments, and the principal of the school as well. In this respect the Fort Dodge Latin teachers are most fortunate.

The department of Latin should stress the value of Latin in preparing for certain professions such as law, medicine, the ministry, and journalism. Miss Boxwell suggests reading to students quotations gathered from business and professional men concerning the value of Latin. She has found that former students who are now in college are glad to tell her pupils the value that they found in Latin. The first two years, she says, are the critical years for this propaganda. "I have never had a fourth year student say he was sorry that he went on."

The Latin student must find fun in his work. Unusual devices introduced into classroom work are important for this. Cross-word puzzles in Latin, valentines with Latin verses, Christmas verses in Latin, voting on election day by tribes, as the Romans did, humorous poems, half Latin and half English, the telling of an interesting story on a classical topic, playing a game for five or ten minutes, and having something new and different to spring at least once a week — these devices, Miss Boxwell says, will

create fun for the pupil and make it seem worth while to be in the Latin department. She also encourages her pupils to think up devices for themselves, some of which have proved so ingenious that they were written up in the school paper.

Keeping the classroom attractive is an important way in which to keep the interest of the class. Suitable pictures and maps are important as a matter of course; but the bulletin board, according to Miss Boxwell, is the greatest help, provided it is changed often. On it should be kept clippings, pictures, cartoons, and book reviews brought in by students. Pictures drawn by students can be put about the room. One or two projects can be on the display shelf at a time. "Students are always eager to see what is new on the bulletin board, what new projects are on display, and who made them. In connection with the classroom, I have a theory that a few growing plants will increase its attraction and lessen its discipline problems."

The Latin Club, Miss Boxwell insists, is one of the best means for creating the classical atmosphere and attracting students into the Latin department. The publicity side of this activity, the write-ups in both local and school papers, help advertise the department and make Latin study attractive. Along with this is the Club Assembly program given before the entire high school. Such a program was given in celebration of the bimillennial of Vergil's birth. We have not space to describe all of the features of the program, but it does honor to the energy and enterprise of the Latin department staff and makes it less surprising that so large a proportion of students at the Fort Dodge high school are enrolled in the Latin department.

Miss Boxwell closes her interesting paper with a description of the part played by the Latin Club in the interclub competition, of plays, of spell-downs, classical movie films, and banquets held in Roman style. She notes with pride, as many another Latin teacher does, that the boy or girl who is conspicuously good throughout his four years of Latin is prominent in almost all other school activities. Finally, "I would say that the way to create the classical atmosphere is: to have an enthusiastic teacher

with a sympathetic administration behind her and a coöperative corps of teachers with her; to make the recitations and classrooms interesting; to have a Latin Club that is able and willing to function effectively and will render service to its department and to its school; to have students enrolled in the course who are eager for high scholarship and services to their school."

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

Harvard University

The Harvard Classical Club presented the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles on the fifteenth and seventeenth of March, in Lowell House, Cambridge. The performance, which was directed by Professor Milman Parry, was given in Greek. Masks were used, and the choruses were sung to music written by Mr. Elliott Carter. The chief speaking parts were taken by R. S. Fitzgerald, R. V. Scudder, and H. T. Levin, all undergraduates in Harvard College. The chorus was trained by Mr. E. C. Weist. A large audience was present at each performance.

Johns Hopkins University

A statement concerning the Ph.D. degree has recently been circulating for the consideration and discussion of the faculty at Johns Hopkins University. In general it is somewhat pessimistic, but classical readers will be interested in the following quotation apropos of the necessity which rests upon most doctors of finding positions of high-school teaching: "For one thing, the graduate student wishing to be certain of qualifying for the high schools will be compelled to take a number of courses in education required by law in nearly every state. This process will hasten the further degradation of the degree."

In the same connection, attention should be called to a slashing article by Howard Mumford Jones in *Scribner's Magazine* xciii (June, 1933), 360-64, under the title of "Betrayal in American Education." If these are signs to indicate that the worm is turning, they are highly welcome.

West Union, Ia.

The annual banquet of *Societas Romana* at West Union, Ia., was held on May 12, 1933, with an attendance of nearly fifty. Latin menus and programs were prepared in the shape of a Roman lamp for each guest. In addition to a program by students, Roy C. Flickinger of the University of Iowa was present and spoke on the topic, "The Study of Latin as a Contribution to International Understanding." Harriet Peel, who is in charge of the Latin work here, has been elected to a similar position at Sumner, Ia., for 1933-34.

U. S. Commissioner of Education, William John Cooper

The Bureau of Education, a division of the Department of the Interior in our national government, has had but a brief history — so brief, indeed, that all of the Commissioners of Education (except the last) have come within the personal acquaintance of the editor of this JOURNAL. But the public service rendered by this branch of the federal government in this brief space of forty-four years has been of value beyond all estimation in the cause of education in America.

Readers of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL will wish a grateful "God speed" to Dr. William John Cooper, as he lays down the office of Commissioner of Education, to accept an appointment as Professor of Education at George Washington University, where, beginning with the new college year, he will direct the courses in educational administration. This is a field in which Doctor Cooper has acquired a national reputation because of his wide experience in many different phases of educational administration, first as city superintendent of schools at Piedmont, Fresno, and San Diego, California, then as State Commissioner of Education in California. As United States Commissioner of Education, since 1929, he has become acquainted with educational conditions in practically every state in the Union.

As Commissioner of Education, Doctor Cooper added a number of new lines of work to the Office of Education, as, for example, work in tests and measurements, in special problems of handicapped children, in radio education, Western European education, and Negro education. During his incumbency, three national surveys of education of importance have been carried on under his direction, one in the field of secondary education, one in school finance, and one in teacher-training problems.

Philadelphia

The Classical Club of Philadelphia was organized in 1895. It meets six times a year — from November to April. At each meeting one of its own members reads a paper or gives an illustrated lecture on some phase

of the Classics. At its last meeting, April 21, 1933, the 228th meeting of the club, a dinner was enjoyed, after which Professor George L. Hendrickson of the Department of Classics, Yale University, the guest of honor for the evening, read a delightful and scholarly paper on *Epictetus — His School and His Philosophy*.

The club awards annual prizes in Latin and in Greek (\$20 each) to pupils of the city high schools and private schools of the vicinity passing the best examinations in these two subjects.

The club invites all men teachers of the Classics and those who are otherwise interested in them to its membership.

The officers for the coming year are: President, Professor Merle M. Odgers of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Vice President, Professor Samuel E. Berger of the Germantown High School; Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. E. S. Gerhard, of the Northeast High School.

The next meeting will be held the first Friday in November, at which time Professor L. A. Post of Haverford College will give an illustrated talk on his travels abroad during this last year.

Wisconsin

The Committee on Humanities in the University of Wisconsin announces a new course in Classical Humanities to consist of a four-year study of Greek and Roman civilization. By means of an integrated study of classical languages, literatures, art, philosophy, history, economics, politics, and religion this course is intended to afford the student a broad, synoptic grasp of one great, creative civilization and to develop in the learner's mind a critical basis for the evaluation of not only Greek and Roman literature and art but also of the literature and art of later times.

An important feature of the course is its emphasis on the tutorial method. A maximum of six credits a year is to be assigned to tutorial instruction, which will be in charge of a committee consisting of Professor A. D. Winspear, chairman, and Professors Agard and Heironimus. Tutorial work will emphasize in the first year Roman history and Latin literature; in the second year, Greek literature and Greek art; in the third year, Greek history, economics, and politics; in the fourth year, ancient philosophy.

At the end of the four-year period the student will be required to pass a comprehensive examination in ancient civilization, including language and literature, history and philosophy.

The plan is believed to be an innovation so far as American educational institutions are concerned, but similar plans have long been in use in European universities, particularly in the school of *Litterae Humaniores* at Oxford.

Recent Books¹

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University.]

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- CLENDON, ARTHUR, and VINCE, J. H., *The Clarendon Latin Course*,

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